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The Catholic Historical Review

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THE CATHOLIC INDIAN SCHOOL ISSUE AND THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1892

By

Harry J. Sievers*

Frequently throughout American history Catholics in many localities have been compelled to play the role of the attacked, the disfranchised, and the persecuted.[1] But in the 1840's and 1850's anti-Catholicism assumed the proportions of a nation-wide movement. Then the American Nativists, or as they styled themselves, the Know-Nothings, "denounced Catholicism, sought to impose serious restrictions on Catholics, and even burned Catholic schools and a convent."[2] Their argument was that America was free, white, and Protestant; the Catholic, therefore,—and especially the Irish Catholic—was necessarily an alien and a menace, not least because of his subjection to a foreign power, the Pope. After the Civil War Nativism was revived by the American Protective Association (the A.P.A.) and here the argument was somewhat changed. The nativistic contention was that "the predominance (of the Church) here would destroy our free institutions and prove the grave of civil and religious liberty."[3]

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[1] Howard K. Beale, "Religious Freedom in American History," *The Historian,* XIV (Autumn, 1951), 50.

[2] *Ibid.* Cf. Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York, 1938).

[3] Francis Graham Wilson, *The American Political Mind* (New York, 1949), pp. 278-280, and Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), pp. 52 ff. John Courtney Murray, S.J., "Paul

Behind the manifestations of the Nativist movement both before and after the Civil War, there lay that profound anti-Roman bias which had been distinctive in the American Republic, ever since the days when New England school children were taught to chant: "Abhor that arrant Whore of Rome, And all her blasphemies; And drink not of her cursed cup, Obey not her decrees." "Catholicism was anti-American," as John Courtney Murray has recently pointed out, "because America was Protestant, and Catholicism was anti-Protestant."[4] That this shadow of the Protestant Revolt still covered the country during and after the presidential election of 1892 is the theme of this study. On November 10, 1892, a Detroit lawyer wrote to President Benjamin Harrison whom the Democrat, Grover Cleveland, had just defeated at the polls. Bluntly the barrister stated: "Your defeat is due to the *Church of Rome,*—to the *Jesuit* who still secretly pursues with dripping ink the Goddess of Liberty; still intent upon strangling freedom of conscience and with it the enlightened intelligence nurtured in the American Public School!"[5]

Four days later Harrison heard from Elliot F. Shepherd, editor of the *Mail and Express,* an independent Republican paper of New York City. In part the communication read: "In my opinion the Roman Catholic Church is the cause of our defeat . . . and I most earnestly wish to hear whether you think so, too."[6] Within the next week the President's private secretary was stacking up many informal letters—all reporting that one of the most important factors in the Republican defeat was the Catholic vote which had presented a solid phalanx in opposition to the A.P.A. backers of Harrison. A great fear of the A.P.A., they argued, had fired Catholic hearts.[7] A chorus of Protestant ministers, mostly Presbyterian

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Blanshard and the New Nativism," *The Month,* n.s. V (April, 1951), 214-225. A condensation of Father Murray's article appeared in *The Commonweal,* LIV (May 4, 1951), 94-95.

[4] Murray, *op. cit.,* p. 214; cf. also Gabriel, *op. cit.,* pp. 52-53.

[5] Library of Congress, Harrison Papers, Vol. 151 (33, 233), Hamilton G. Howard to Harrison, Detroit, November 10, 1892. Hereafter these papers will be cited simply as: HP.

[6] HP, Vol. 152 (33, 343), Shepherd to Harrison, New York, November 14, 1892. The letter was marked "ansd/file" but no copy of the answer was found in the Harrison Papers, although a subsequent letter from Shepherd referred to Harrison's reply. In New York Shepherd was under constant attack by Dr. Michael Walsh, editor of the *Catholic Herald.* Walsh obtained letters from Senator John Sherman of Ohio and other leading Republicans which repudiated Shepherd's bigoted stand as in any way reflecting the sentiment of the Republican Party. Cf. the *Catholic Herald,* April 23, 30, 1892, *et passim.*

[7] *Ibid.,* Vol. 152 (33, 359-60), George W. G. Dorsey to E. W. Halford, Fremont, Nebraska, November 15, 1892.

and Baptist, was heard at the White House. A gentleman of the cloth from New York wrote that "some say that the Roman Catholic authorities decreed the overthrow of the administration because the President stood by General Morgan in the matter of the Indian School funds"[8]; whereas a Baptist preacher of Parkersburg, West Virginia, declared that:

> it is quite apparent to all, who have watched carefully the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church during your administration that it is no friend to this Republic, and that the full force of that great and dangerous political organization was fully thrown against you in the last election. The friends of this Republic are alarmed, as they have a good right to be, when they see the Roman Catholic Church, the liquor power, and the foreign element in this country... all against us.[9]

Finally, from the pen of a prominent manufacturer and merchant, himself a Catholic, Harrison received a formal confirmation of everything that his Protestant brethren had written. His correspondent stated: "I hear great complaints from Catholics in regard to your administration's dealing with the Indian policy; that children were forcibly driven from Catholic Mission Schools to those established by the Government as a measure to keep them from the Catholic faith. These measures I am told by distinguished Catholic gentlemen are at the bottom of the late Republican defeat."[10] While the President silently nursed his wounds, "several Roman Catholic Papers were singing *Te Deums* over the victory of Mr. Cleveland," calling it the "death-blow of Know-Nothingism and bigotry."[11] The *Catholic Herald*, of New York, a little more virulent than most of its contemporaries, declared:

> the Republican Party, led by bigots, invaded the sanctuary of the home, usurped parental rights, and robbed the Catholic Indians of their only treasure, their faith; but the people, true to the best traditions of America, hurled it from power. Cleveland's victory was, in truth, the defeat of bigotry.[12]

At the peak of this post-election controversy, the real object of a relentless A.P.A. attack was a Catholic priest, Father Joseph Andrew Stephan, Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in Washington, D. C. Nativist organs pictured Father Stephan as firing the

[8] *Ibid.*, (33, 862), Rev. W. C. Stitt to Harrison, New York, November 15, 1892.

[9] *Ibid.*, Vol. 153 (33, 534-5), Rev. W. E. Powell to Harrison, Parkersburg, West Virginia, November 24, 1892.

[10] *Ibid.*, (A box labelled "Correspondence, November 6-December 31, 1892"), J. E. Hoppen to Harrison, New York, November 11, 1892.

[11] *Independent* (New York) November 24, 1892.

[12] December 3, 1892.

opening gun in the anti-Harrison campaign by distributing over 100,000 pamphlets describing the "bigoted Indian Commissioner, Morgan, and the not-much-less bigoted Harrison."[13] Stephan was also charged with visiting leading Catholics and arousing widespread hostility to the Republican nominee.[14] Words were put into Stephan's mouth to the effect that when he visited Harrison's home state of Indiana, "he called the priests of the state to a meeting in Lafayette, told them to take off their coats and defeat Harrison, and to send all reluctant Republicans to him."[15]

In the light of this evidence several problems suggest themselves as worthy of closer scrutiny. Not the least is an understanding of the Catholic Indian School issue and the circumstances which resulted in an apparently heavy Catholic vote against President Harrison in 1892. An investigation into previously unused manuscript materials soon threw a stronger light on these questions and brought into sharper focus the entire Nativist movement which had paraded under the mask of the A.P.A. The story may thus be detailed as a case-history of the Catholic Indian school controversy that originated with President Grant in 1870 and carried through to its crisis stage, the presidential election of 1892. It is the tale of Nativism revived.

For a few years after the Civil War the Catholics of the North, proud of their military record, had indulged the hope that old discords had been buried and "that the days of 'No Popery' crusades were over."[16] But encouragement and hope soon yielded to dismay stimulated by all the excitement over the Vatican Council of 1869-1870. A new "Protestant Crusade" was called, "with armies recruited from the same elements and employing much the same modes of fighting"[17] as in the 1840's and 1850's. Perhaps, one of the most typical remarks came from the Reverend Dr.

[13] Alvin Packer Stauffer, "Anti-Catholicism in American Politics, 1865-1900," an unpublished doctoral dissertation in Widener Library, Harvard University (1933), pp. 313 ff. Stauffer's sixth chapter, "The Beginnings of the A.P.A. Movement" (1887-1892), while uncritical, cites an abundance of A.P.A. literature. On the above charge cf. American Patriotic League, *Some Matters of Interest for Consideration of Every American Voter* (New York, 1892), pp. 7-8; *Independent* (New York), XLIV (September 1, 22, 1892); *Argonaut*, September 5, 1892; and *Patriotic American* (Detroit), September 24, 1892.

[14] Arthur Wallace Dunn, *From Harrison to Harding* (New York, 1922), I, 84.

[15] Stauffer, *op. cit.*, p. 313, cites as his source the notoriously bigoted paper, the Boston *Standard* of October 2, 1895; moreover, the story was related three years after the event was alleged to have taken place.

[16] Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), III, 64 ff.

[17] *Ibid.*, III, 65.

Stephen H. Tyng, Jr., pastor of Holy Trinity Church on Forty-Second Street, New York. "The Pope," Tyng said, "was now infallible. That was settled; and his encyclical positively asserted that the Romish Church had the right to interfere in the management of the public schools, and that all children must come under the instructions of the Romish Church."[18] Naturally, too, the anti-Catholic secret societies—"the patriotic orders," as they styled themselves, or "the dark-lantern boys" as the Catholic press usually called them,[19] again made their appearance. At least five of these revived secret groups were hold-overs that had survived the wreck of pre-war Know-Nothings. Their declared purpose was the same, viz., to maintain the public school system intact; to keep the Bible in the public schools; to oppose Catholic schools and any grants of public money to sectarian institutions; to oppose the election or the appointment of Catholics to any public office, and, in general, to "resist the aggression" and reduce the influence of the Church of Rome.[20]

Though anti-Catholic agitation existed, it was of the less tumultuous brand, at least until after the nation had passed out of the depression of the 1870's. The real revival came in the early 1880's. The root causes were three: vast increase in immigration, with a resultant sharp competition for jobs between incoming Catholics and Protestant natives; the the success of Irish Catholics in gaining control of the municipal governments of New York, Boston, and numerous other American cities; and the rapid development of the Catholic parochial schools as a result of the practical mandate of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. It was only a short step before these three factors were "distorted into a 'Papal aggression against American institutions,'" a sinister "attempt to wreck the public school system by withdrawing from it a great part of the nation's children and building up a rival system of 'priest-controlled' schools, which would then demand a major part of the public school funds."[21] Quite regularly anti-Catholic propaganda was revived just before national or state elections, usually to the profit of the Republican Party. The *locus classicus*, the 1884 story of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," boomeranged against Nativist interests and put a Democratic President in the White House, the first one in twenty-five years. Since the parallel between the Cleveland victory over James G. Blaine in 1884 was so remarkably similar to the Cleveland triumph over Harrison in 1892, a brief summary of the chance circumstances surrounding the event in 1884 will be pertinent.

[18] John Gilmary Shea, "The Anti-Catholic Issue in the Late Election," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, VI (January, 1881), 43.

[19] Lord-Sexton-Harrington, *op. cit.*, III, 66.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*, III, 101 ff.

On the Wednesday before the national election the magnetic Blaine arrived in New York City, intending to close his campaign on the following day. He put up at the famous Fifth Avenue Hotel. Early the next day several hundred Protestant clergymen of various denominations convened at the hotel to pay their respects to the Republican standard-bearer. These "reverend gentlemen grouped themselves at the foot of the broad stair-case down which Blaine came to meet them, leaning on the arm of Dr. James King of the Methodist Church."[22] The usual speech of welcome was in order, but the appointed spokesman, a Baptist minister, failed to appear. "A dull witted Presbyterian minister named Samuel D. Burchard who was described by the New York *Sun* as 'a Silurian or early Paleozoic bigot' and later by Blaine as 'an ass in the shape of a preacher' "[23] was hastily chosen to make a brief address of congratulation. Burchard fumbled badly, and by way of conclusion he dubbed the opposition Democratic Party as one "whose antecedents have been *rum, Romanism* and *rebellion.*"[24] The abusive alliteration practically went unnoticed. After all, if the phrase was new, the idea was old. Eight years before, when Garfield thought Hayes had been defeated by Tilden in the disputed election of 1876, he wrote privately that the Republicans had been worsted by the "combined power of rebellion, Catholicism and whiskey, a trinity very hard to conquer."[25]

However, a short-hand reporter, employed by the National Democratic Headquarters, had caught the phrase, and at that moment Blaine's political goose was cooked. Within a few hours "the principal cities were being placarded with the insulting alliteration. When Blaine passed through New Haven the next day, he was greeted with a shower of Rum, Romanism and Rebellion handbills."[26] The final effect was decisive. Catholics, especially Irish Catholics, who had been counted in the Blaine column for months, now broke ranks indignantly, and "the following Sunday morning handbills were distributed at the doors of thousands of Catholic Churches all over the country,"[27] quoting the belligerent insult. Blaine tarried too long in repudiating this insult to the faith of his Celtic friends and Cleveland carried New York by a plurality of 1,149 in a vote of over

[22] David S. Muzzey, *James G. Blaine: A Political Idol of Other Days* (New York, 1934), p. 316.

[23] *Ibid.* Cf. also Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1932), pp. 181-182.

[24] Muzzey, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

[25] T. C. Smith, *Life and Letters of James A. Garfield* (New Haven, 1925), I, 613, as cited by Muzzey, *op. cit.*, p. 318, fn. 2. Cf. also R. G. Caldwell, *James A. Garfield, Party Chieftain* (New York, 1931), p. 251.

[26] Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[27] Muzzey, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

one million, and New York's electoral vote gave him the presidency. Precisely how many votes Blaine lost in New York alone by Burchard's bigoted blunder it is impossible to say. But as Blaine's most reliable biographer points out, "it was many times the number of Cleveland's essential plurality in the state."[28] One Catholic dignitary was quoted as having said, "we had to resent an insult like that, and I estimate that the remark has changed 50,000 votes." To this the biographer of Cleveland added: "This was an exaggeration—but it did change many."[29] In a sense Grover Cleveland was a child of fortune. His luck, however, did not extend beyond his administration, and in 1888, with "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" forgotten, Cleveland was defeated by Benjamin Harrison. Both candidates were Presbyterians and the religious issue did not enter the presidential contest.[30]

The canvass of 1892 was a completely different story, as we have already seen, although the candidates were the same. Early in the campaign there were evidences that the fires of religious prejudices would burn brightly, and it was not long before bigots from each political camp made themselves heard and felt throughout the country. For "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion," there was now substituted Father Stephan's phrase, "the bigoted [Indian] Commissioner and the not much less bigoted President [Harrison]."[31] With this background we may now proceed to explain how this new Nativism arose.

For the greater part of the national history of the United States the Indian was treated as an enemy. A standing army was maintained to fight him. When he surrendered, he became a prisoner of war. In resistance or subjection, the army managed him. When he ran away, he was plundered; when he remained, he was cheated.[32] This lack of an Indian policy was terminated by President Grant whose annual message to Congress in 1870 contained the following remarks:

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 318. Cf. also H. L. Stoddard, *Presidential Sweepstakes* (New York, 1948), pp. 107 ff.

[29] Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[30] Cleveland was the son of a Presbyterian minister, while Harrison was active as an elder in the First Presbyterian Church of Indianapolis. Cf. Louis A. Banks, *Religious Life of Famous Americans* (New York, 1904), p. 237 ff.

[31] This phrase was culled from Stephan's official report of 1891-1892 to Bishop Martin Marty, President of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. It was dated July 27, 1892, but by August and September it had been reprinted thousands of times. Cf. *Catholic Citizen* (Milwaukee), September 24, 1892, and the *Catholic Herald*, July and August, 1892, *passim*.

[32] HP, Vol. 89 (20, 217 a), a newspaper article entitled "The Education of the Indians," *Congregationalist and Boston Recorder*, October 10, 1889.

Indian agencies being civil offices, I determine to give all the agencies to such religious denominations as had heretofore established missionaries among the Indians; and perhaps to some other denominations who might undertake [missionary] work on the same terms.[33]

This determination was characterized as Grant's "Indian Peace Policy," and in simple language it said that we were tired of killing the Indian; we must now educate him. To this worthy end the President pledged federal subsidies, making it clear that the missionaries on the spot, regardless of religious affiliation, were to be the beneficiaries. Grant further directed that each religious denomination should nominate an Indian agent who

> should conduct the civil administration of his agency in full harmony with the spiritual work of the Indian Mission at that agency, and that he and all his employees, if practicable, should be members of the religious denomination to which the agency was assigned, so that both by their precept and example the Missionaries might be aided in civilizing the Indians and making them upright, moral men.[34]

Under this offer the Catholics, who had maintained missions at the majority of the Indian reservations since their establishment by the government, put in a claim for the appointment of Catholic agents to the number of thirty-eight, asserting that they were the first to establish missions at that many agencies, and that, consequently, interpreting the President's words literally, they were entitled to have that number of agents nominated. And at this point the Catholic Church lost out, dropping the first round of a long contest to their better organized Protestant competitors.[35] Catholics were assigned eight, not thirty-eight agencies, and "Catholic Indians to the number of 80,000, who were distributed among the Protestant agencies thus passed from Catholic to Protestant control."[36]

Various protests against this unfair division of the agencies were

[33] A pamphlet entitled *The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions* (Washington, 1896), p. 1.

[34] *Ibid.* Cf. also a concise summary of same which appeared in the *Catholic Citizen*, April 25, 1891.

[35] The unfair division was caused by the united efforts of Protestant pressure groups. Cf. William H. Ketcham, "Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 745. This misfortune might have been prevented had the Catholics been provided with a strong organization similar to the Protestant Board of Missions to voice their objections. Cf. Sister M. Claudia Duratschek, O.S.B., *Crusading along Sioux Trails* (Yankton, South Dakota, 1947), p. 29.

[36] *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions*, p. 2. Cf. Duratschek, *op. cit.*, p. 28; also the letter of Vincent Colyer to Jacob D. Cox, Secretary of the Interior, August 11, 1871, for a summary of the actual division of agencies. A copy is

lodged with the Secretary of the Interior by individual Catholic missionaries; and, as it was said, "tribe after tribe petitioned the government" for the return of the "black gowns," but no official action was taken.[37] To those Catholic bishops responsible for the spiritual welfare of the Red Man there loomed large the serious problem of Catholic subjects, not only deprived of priests and religious educators, but also in immediate danger of Protestant proselytizing efforts. After a hurried meeting, a group of western churchmen[38] petitioned Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley of Baltimore to appoint a civil agent at Washington "to represent them before the United States Government in all that concerned the interests of Catholic Indians."[39] Finally, in January, 1874, Bayley appointed General Charles Ewing[40] as Catholic commissioner for the Indian missions. When this move was approved by the Secretary of the Interior there was born at Washington, D. C., the first Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. The young thirty-seven-year-old Catholic commissioner brought great zeal and much legal talent to his new task, and he was soon aided by two missionary priests, Fathers J. B. A. Brouillet and Felix Barotti, who later became director and treasurer respectively of the bureau. At the end of five years of unremitting legal proceedings, the right to freedom of worship was granted to the Indians, and the evils of the earlier anti-Catholic discrimination were corrected.[41] General Ewing's outstanding work merited for him the first papal decoration ever bestowed upon an American layman—a knighthood in the Order of St. Gregory the Great.[42] In 1883, two years after the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions had been officially established under the general incorporation law of the United States,[43] death summoned both Commissioner

in the archives of the Motherhouse of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.

[37] *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions*, p. 3.

[38] Fathers Deshon, Maguire, Brouillet, and Van Gorp signed the petition.

[39] *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions*, p. 3.

[40] General Charles Ewing (1835-1883) was the brother of Mrs. William T. Sherman. He gave his time gratuitously, besides furnishing an office rent free. Cf. also Peter Guilday, "Catholic Layman of Action, Gen. Charles Ewing," *The Sign*, XV (March, 1936), 495, cited in Richard J. Gabel, *Public Funds for Church and Private Schools* (Washington, 1937), pp. 526-527.

[41] Katherine Burton, *Three Generations* (New York, 1947), p. 250. The author alleges that the general's final illness was brought on by overwork, some of it connected with his office as Indian commissioner.

[42] *Ibid.* Cf. also Duratschek, *op. cit.*, p. 29, fn. 61.

[43] A decree of the Congregation of the Propaganda, Rome, January 22, 1879, signed by the prefect, Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, highly commended the work of the bureau and recommended it to the fostering care of the bishops. Cf. *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions*, p. 10 for the incorporation proceedings.

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Ewing and Director Brouillet. The action of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, who appointed Father Stephan as the new director, kept the bureau functioning at its previously high level of efficiency and Gibbons' selection of Stephan was unanimously ratified by the bishops of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.[44]

Joseph Andrew Stephan is one of the most interesting, yet least known, characters in American Catholic history. Born on November 22, 1822, in Baden, Germany, of an Irish mother and a Greek father, he was destined by his parents for a military career. While at a technical school in Freiburg, blindness, which lasted for two years, changed his life. When the blessing of vision returned to him, he determined to become a priest. Mid-way through his theological studies he was summoned to the deathbed of his father who was then living in the United States. After his father's death in May, 1847, Stephan resumed his studies for the priesthood at Cincinnati, and was ordained there on March 19, 1849. When the Civil War broke out he entered the army as a chaplain and served with the forces of General George H. Thomas throughout the entire conflict. Chaplain Stephan also lent his engineering ability to the Union cause, although he declined the offer of a higher rank on that account.

When the war closed Father Stephan became more and more absorbed with missionary work among the Indians. In 1879 he became the Indian agent at Standing Rock, South Dakota. Then in 1884, on the recommendation of the leading prelates of the West, Archbishop Gibbons called him to Washington to take charge of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.[45] He arrived there, a man already in his early sixties, and was described by an Associated Press reporter "as a wonderful old man—the priest with the long white beard."[46] His lay secretary referred to him "as the

[44] *Ibid.* Cf. Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 78-V-7, Gibbons to Stephan, Baltimore, December 20, 1884, and 78-V-7, Stephan's reply of December 22, 1884. Hereafter this archives will be designated as AAB. For a history of the early years of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, in good measure based upon archival research, cf. the forthcoming monograph of Peter J. Rahill, "The Catholic Indian Bureau and Grant's Peace Policy," to be published this fall by the Catholic University of America Press.

[45] Early in February, 1884, Gibbons was sounding out the western bishops on Brouillet's successor. The Benedictine Bishop Marty thought Stephan "eminently fitted" and outlined his experience and abilities. By May the other prelates seconded the recommendation and Stephan was appointed in May, 1884. Cf. AAB, 77, Marty to Gibbons, St. Paul, February 22, 1884; Ireland to Gibbons, St. Paul, February 28, 1884; Grace to Gibbons, St. Paul, February 29, 1884; O'Connor to Gibbons, Omaha, March 23, 1884; Flasch to Gibbons, La Crosse, April 2, 1884.

[46] Dunn, *op. cit.*, I, 83-84.

fighting priest" who well deserved the name, for the major part of his term of seventeen years as director of the bureau, he was in "hot water" with the administration officials "because his zeal for the Indians was unbounded and his courage great." While it must be admitted that at times his zeal might better have been tempered with discretion, still this characteristic trait made his obituary ring true when it said:

> Throughout the length and breadth of the great Western States and Territories, from tribe to tribe, from river to mountain, on the arid plains of Arizona, or among the peaks and valleys of the Dakotas, this modern Las Casas sought out his savage brethren, studied their faults and their native virtues, and then by voice and pen pleaded with the President, with Congress, with the Hierarchy of the Church, with the benevolent among the laity, for legislation, for forbearance, for money, for teachers to aid him in lifting to higher plain [*sic*] his poor benighted friends. . . .[47]

This was the man, therefore, in whose charge the business of the Catholic Indians rested during Cleveland's administration. At the time that "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" put Cleveland in the White House, the increase in Catholic Indian school work, while slow, was in the aggregate considerable. This advance was due primarily to the introduction of the so-called contract school system in 1869, a scheme readily acquiesced in by the federal government. In substance the contract school system was a practical *quid pro quo* arrangement: the religious denomination was to furnish proper buildings and to provide board, lodging, and clothing for the Indian pupil, while the government would allow a fixed annual per capita compensation. These contracts were drawn up on a yearly basis—with Congress voting to appropriate the necessary funds for each fiscal period. The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions handled all the contracts for the missionaries in the field and acted as the liaison with the government in all matters. Thus the disaster of 1871 was forestalled.

Early in Cleveland's administration, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, the Secretary of the Interior, expressed a determination to discontinue the contract system and to limit the expenditure of funds to schools owned and conducted exclusively by the government. This proposal, if carried into execution, threatened to cripple seriously the expanding work of the Catholic Indian schools.[48] This became Stephan's first crisis as director of the bureau, and he soon won a reputation as an intrepid crusader for Catholic Indian interests. By persistent and earnest personal effort he was able

[47] *The Indian Sentinel*, IV (January, 1924), 3. Cf. also the annual number of 1902-1903. Both are in the archives of the present Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Washington, D. C.

[48] Cf. AAB, 82-I-4, William H. Gross to Gibbons, Portland, December 24, 1886, for the fears entertained by the prelates in the West.

to induce his friends in Congress "to interest themselves in the matter, and to prevail upon the Honorable Secretary to reconsider his determination."[49] Whether the Cleveland administration feared a tirade of "Romanism" without the rum or the rebellion, or whether Stephan's lobbying tactics were so pleasing, is not known. The results, however, are a matter of record. The Secretary of the Interior consented not only to the continuance, but also the extension of the contract system by granting contracts for new schools.[50]

The next four years were probably the happiest of Stephan's long term as director. He saw the missionaries take rapid strides in Indian educational matters and, as the government showed itself more liberal, various Catholic agencies found it essential to erect new buildings and to enlarge or repair the old ones. Frequently enough the ready cash was lacking. Again, with reliance on divine Providence, Stephan worked out a solution. Repeatedly he appealed to Miss Katherine Drexel, [51] daughter of Francis A. Drexel, the wealthy Philadelphia financier and partner of J. Pierpont Morgan, laying before her the almost endless needs of the missions. Miss Drexel's response was an overwhelmingly generous one and her donations marked the beginning of a million dollar building program. Nor did she stop with putting up buildings; but under the direction of Father Stephan,[52] and at the suggestion of Pope Leo XIII, she founded in 1891 the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament "for missionary work among the Indians and the colored people of the United States."[53] It was not long before she could help staff the schools she had built.

It is a matter of cold figures that during Cleveland's stay in the White House, Stephan succeeded in increasing federal appropriations to Catholic schools from $65,220 in 1884 to $347,672 in 1889. This represented close to seventy-five percent of all federal funds allocated to all the de-

[49] *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions,* p. 18.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] For further biographical data on the Drexel family, cf. Sister Mercedes, "Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* II, 599; James F. Loughlin, "Francis Anthony Drexel," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* V, 159.

[52] Archives of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Stephan to Miss Drexel, Omaha, February 12, 1889. Writing from Bishop O'Connor's residence in Omaha, Stephan told how he and O'Connor "talked your future plans in regard to yourself thoroughly over conscientiously and I will give you the result. We are both of the opinion, and hope it is God's will, that you start a new order for Indians and Negroes *alone*—and therefore I ask you and your sister to meet me here in Omaha at the Bishop's residence. . . . In consequence of this I ask you to please not to make hasty step nor final decision before seeing your great friend and father, Bishop O'Connor."

[53] Cf. Sister Mercedes, *op. cit.,* note 51.

nominations and was $300,000 more than the Church's nearest competitor, the Presbyterians, who in 1889 received $41,825.[54] The future promised well. But in March, 1889, when the Harrison administration was ushered into office, the horizon clouded somewhat in the same fashion as at the beginning of the Cleveland term in 1885. The newly appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas J. Morgan, with the approbation of Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble, announced that he was opposed to the contract system and that he would as rapidly as possible withdraw government aid from the private schools under contract, the method to be pursued being a twenty percent reduction each year until that class of schools was abolished.[55]

The moving spirit behind the reduction and abolition of the contract school was the A.P.A.,[56] founded at Clinton, Iowa, on March 13, 1887. It differed from the earlier Know-Nothings in one essential point: "it did not enter politics directly."[57] Its technique was to place anti-Catholics in key government posts and thus to eliminate the Roman influence in civil affairs. To this end "from Boston a committee of one hundred flooded the press and legislatures from 1888 to 1892 with countless anti-Romanist documents."[58] In individual States the A.P.A. centered their attack on the parochial school; on the national scene they fought bitterly against the Indian contract school system. When Harrison appointed General Morgan of Rhode Island, a zealous Baptist minister, to the post of Indian commissioner, and Dr. Daniel Dorchester, a Methodist preacher, to the post of Commissioner of Indian Education, the A.P.A.'s fight seemed to have been won.[59] In immediately accepting Harrison's offer Morgan wrote: "I shall give to it my best thought, my undivided energies, and shall strive to meet both your expectations, and to satisfy my own conscience."[60]

[54] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1891* (Washington, 1891), I, 68.

[55] *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions*, p. 21.

[56] George Harmon Knoles, *The Presidential Campaign and Election of 1892* (Stanford, 1942), p. 217.

[57] Conrad Smith, *A Dictionary of American Politics* . . . (New York, 1924), p. 1. "The A.P.A. . . . devoted its energies to anti-Catholic and anti-foreign activities." Cf. also H. J. Desmond, *The A.P.A. Movement* (Washington, 1912), pp. 7-17, where he contends that the organization was held together initially only by anti-Catholic feeling.

[58] Desmond, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

[59] Knoles, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

[60] HP, Vol. 79 (18,047), Morgan to Harrison, Providence, June 13, 1889. At the time of his selection Morgan was serving as Principal of the State Normal School of Providence, Rhode Island. He assured the President that

And what was Morgan's "best thought" and his "conscience"? Unblushingly he reported that he entered upon the discharge of his duties "with a few simple, well-defined, and strongly cherished convictions,"[61] and among these convictions was a new program for Indian happiness. His fifth beatitude read:

> The paramount duty of the hour is to prepare the rising generation of Indians for the new order of things thus forced upon them. A comprehensive system of education, modeled after the American public school system . . . embracing all persons of school age, compulsory in its demands and uniformly administered, should be developed as rapidly as possible.[62]

Later in 1889, but still previous to his confirmation by the United States Senate, Morgan said in an interview:

> I am not sure that it is wise to place any public school entirely in the hands of a religious order . . . it seems to me it would be far better to take American Catholics with experience in public schools and with normal school training for such places in preference to either jesuits or sisters educated in foreign lands, who speak the English language indifferently, who know nothing by experience or training of public school work, who are not imbued with American ideas. . . .[63]

Likewise, Dorchester boasted a record of anti-Catholic bigotry that almost eclipsed Morgan's less sensational efforts. Shortly before his appointment he had published a book entitled *Romanism vs. the Public School System* (New York, 1888). Even the liberally inclined Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul attacked it as "a vile, slanderous anti-Catholic book, filled with historic falsehood and misconstruction of Catholic teachings."[64] Several excerpts from the Dorchester work clearly show the mind of the newly appointed Commissioner of Indian Education. The Catholic Church, he wrote,

> (1) exerts a large and, in some localities, a controlling interest in politics. Never was it plotting more deeply and determinedly than now, and some

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"he did not look upon his appointment as a personal favor, but as an indication of his competency to discharge . . . his high office."

[61] *58th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1889), p. 3.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 4. In this same volume Morgan also issued a twenty-one-page supplemental report that left no doubt of his design to defeat all contract schools by substituting the public system. Cf. pp. 95 ff.

[63] Washington *Post*, December 16, 1889. Morgan was also obnoxious to Catholics because, as a public lecturer, he had frequently delivered an address entitled: "Rome opposed to American Institutions," Stauffer, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

[64] Philadelphia *Press*, December 13, 1889.

persons have grave fears for the safety of our free institutions. Let us be wisely active.

(2) demands wholly to control education, secular and religious, as a part of her absolutism, the "thin edge of the wedge" which the Church of Rome is driving into our Republican institutions.

(3) cramps and compresses the mind while young and plastic, in the rigid molds prepared in the middle ages—this is what Romanism means to do.[65]

Morgan and Dorchester, therefore, paired nicely, and the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions soon found itself run through with a two-edge sword of bigotry and jealousy. Dr. Dorchester, under instruction from Morgan, made an inspection tour of the federal schools during which he made an almost clean sweep of every Catholic teacher; while in Washington itself Morgan dismissed Catholics who were serving in the Indian office when he took over.[66]

Long before Father Stephan returned from his usual winter and spring tour of the Catholic Indian missions, the press of the country was reacting violently to the Dorchester-Morgan moves. Protestant and A.P.A.[67] weeklies and Republican dailies heartily endorsed the new Indian policy, while Catholic and Democratic papers roundly criticized it.[68] For example, the Boston Evangelical Alliance supported Morgan by proclaiming that "the Church of Rome has declared itself hostile to the public school system,"[69] while at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, the government school organ, the *Red Man,* declared Morgan's "principle a good one" because "the public school system has come to be recognized as an essential factor in the training of American citizens."[70] The *Daily Champion* of Atchison, Kansas, claimed they backed Morgan against the offended Catholic hierarchy because "contract schools to all intents and purposes are the same as parochial schools . . . and the Morgan plan would take this work out

[65] Newspaper clipping (undated and unidentified) from scrapbooks in the archives of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Hereafter cited as ABCIM.

[66] *Catholic Citizen,* April 25, 1891.

[67] *Congregationalist,* October 10, 1889; and a host of papers supported by the A.P.A. Cf. Thomas Jefferson Jenkins, "The A.P.A. Conspirators," *Catholic World,* LVII (August, 1893), 685-693. Papers mentioned are *America, Patriotic American* (Detroit), Cleveland *Leader,* St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* etc.

[68] *National Democrat* (Washington, D. C.), September 21, 1889, non-Catholic but anti-Morgan; the *Catholic Review* (New York), *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), *Pilot* of Boston, etc., *passim.*

[69] ABCIM, New York *Times,* November 12, 1889, an article entitled "The Indian School System."

[70] ABCIM, Scrapbook entry, an editorial entitled, "General Morgan's Principle a Good One," and identified only as *"The Red Man,* Carlisle, Pa., October, 1889."

of Catholic hands."[71] The Omaha *Daily Bee* claimed that if the Morgan plan was defeated, or his nomination blocked in the senate, then "the press, the people, as well as Protestants, would demand that the Church of Rome should take its hands off the public, the Congress, and especially the Indian Bureau."[72]

The Catholic press retaliated by characterizing "Morgan's hostility to the Catholic Church" as "born of bigotry,"[73] while simultaneously playing up Dorchester's established reputation as "an anti-Catholic bigot" whose primary purpose was to establish "an undenominational Indian school in charge of Protestant teachers." The Catholic editors seemed agreed that he was the best man to "put this proselytizing scheme into effect."[74] There was a general fear, therefore, that Morgan and Dorchester's success would strike the death-blow to the Catholic missions. Hence the question was raised:

> Is the motive really inspired from headquarters [the White House]? Does this administration wish to have it understood that it is to be an anti-Catholic administration like that of President Grant, which was so disastrous to our Catholic Missions? If so, would it not be well for that portion of our Catholic people who favor the administration to inquire whether they can conscientiously continue to do so?[75]

President Harrison, although on friendly terms with Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and other Catholic leaders,[76] maintained a strict silence through the initial stages of the controversy. Soon clergy and laity alike were inquiring where he stood. Was he willing that he or his administration should be tagged as bigoted? Was the President secretly in league with A.P.A. enthusiasts? Certainly no indication of any such Nativist affiliation appeared during the campaign, and Francis Silas Chatard, Bishop of Vincennes and close neighbor to the President, re-

[71] December 28, 1889.

[72] January 5, 1890.

[73] *National Democrat* (Washington, D. C.), October 29, 1889; *Catholic Mirror* (Baltimore), July 12, 1889.

[74] ABCIM, a scrapbook clipping, Portland *Catholic Sentinel*, August 15 (?), 1889. This same sentiment was expressed in several other Catholic organs during this period.

[75] *Ibid.*, *Catholic Review* (New York), September (day not given on clipping), 1889.

[76] Ireland had been entertained at the White House after an introduction to Harrison by Secretary of the Treasury William Windom, a Minnesota man. There was occasional correspondence by Ireland, as well as Gibbons, with the President, as may be found in the HP, AAB, and Ireland Papers for the years 1889-1893.

corded in his diary that Harrison was friendly to, and sympathetic with, the Catholic Church's "stand with regard to the social order, and obedience to authority, and temperance without fanaticism."[77] After a personal interview with Harrison during the campaign, Chatard confided to his diary that Harrison:

> said in reply to a remark I made regarding the influence of the Church in keeping her people out of secret organizations, that he had always been opposed to such societies, had never been a member of one, except at college (in the Greek Society); though he had voted the Know-Nothing ticket, he had never belonged to them and had refused to join them.[78]

When it became painfully evident that the interests of the Catholic missions continued to meet with cold treatment at the hands of the Indian Department, Gibbons and Ireland sent letters of protest to Harrison—not through the public mails, but by a personal representative, Father George F. Willard, the vice-director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.[79] Willard met with Harrison at the President's summer cottage at Deer Park, Maryland. The interview was a cordial one but as far as the policy toward the Indians was concerned the meeting proved ineffective. Harrison wrote a long letter of explanation to the Archbishop of St. Paul expressing sincere regret that the impression had been conveyed to the prelate "that there is any disposition in the Indian Bureau, or in any department of the Government, to allow even the smallest proscription of our Catholic fellow citizens. I have not appointed any one to office because he was a member of any particular church communion. I do not intend that anyone now in public service shall be prejudiced by reason of religious beliefs." After a point by point summary of the Catholic complaints, Harrison concluded his letter to Ireland by stating:

> I shall always listen with the greatest respect to any suggestions which you may make to me, either in writing or orally; and I beg to renew the assurance

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[77] Archives of the Archdiocese of Indianapolis, Diary of Bishop Chatard, July 2, 1888. Though Bishop of Vincennes, Chatard maintained his residence in Indianapolis, just a short stroll from Benjamin Harrison's home at 1230 N. Delaware Street. In March, 1898, the name of Chatard's jurisdiction was changed to the Diocese of Indianapolis, and on December 19, 1944, the diocese was raised to metropolitan rank.

[78] *Ibid.* This is an important insight. Bishop Chatard "does not talk politics. Very few persons, if any, know what his political preferences are." *New Record* (Indianapolis), December 13, 1888.

[79] Cf. HP, Vols. 85-88, for copies of Ireland to Harrison, St. Paul, August 19, 1889; Gibbons to Harrison, Baltimore, August 27, 1889; and Willard to Harrison, Washington, August 27, 1889.

to you that I cherish altogether too liberal and friendly a spirit to allow unfriendly and unjust discriminations to be made.[80]

Although Harrison took no direct action, he left the door open for a future interview. Stephan, having returned to Washington in time to attend the celebration of the centennial of the American hierarchy in Baltimore, urged that a select delegation of interested bishops call on the President at the White House.[81] Cardinal Gibbons favored this suggestion, and once the Baltimore celebrations were over, Archbishops Ireland of St. Paul and Patrick W. Riordan of San Francisco were chosen as a committee of two to call on Harrison. Bishop Chatard of Indiana and Father Stephan were appointed to accompany the archbishops. The meeting was by appointment and set for November 20, 1889. The prelates had one main objective, namely, to persuade the President not to send the names of Morgan and Dorchester to the senate for confirmation. Harrison, in the presence of Secretary of State Blaine, and Secretary of Treasury Windom, welcomed the representatives of the Catholic hierarchy. The seven men were closeted in conference for about one hour. That same day Ireland reported to Cardinal Gibbons and he said:

Blaine and Windom . . . showed plainly that they sympathized with us. . . . The matter was fully discussed, and written statements, which the Bureau had carefully prepared, were left with the President. No conclusion was reached beyond the re-iterated promise to investigate the matter and to insist that justice be done. So far as we could read through the President's words, an impression was made on him, which will result in good. As to Mr. Morgan I have no confidence in him. He is a bigot and a liar.[82]

But Stephan's account of the interview, written almost two years after the event, related an entirely different story. In his official report to Bishop Marty, the "fighting priest," in remarkably restrained language, maintained that during the interview the President "stated that he wanted

[80] HP, Harrison to Ireland, Washington, September 7, 1889, copy.

[81] ABCIM, Stephan to Marty, Washington, July 27, 1892. Stephan declared: "I put forth every effort, beginning first with my address to his Eminence, the Cardinal, and to some thirty Archbishops and Bishops, at the meeting in Baltimore . . . that meeting unanimously agreed that something should be done. . . ." This letter later appeared in print as the *Official B.C.I.M. Report, 1891-1892,* p. 3.

[82] AAB, 86-U-5, Ireland to Gibbons, Washington, November 20, 1889. In retrospect of the Baltimore celebrations Ireland told the cardinal, "Never did the Church stand so well before the country as today. We have to thank you for all this. You have the ear of the American public as no other man in the Republic. Your words are heeded by all and God be thanked, they are always the words that are needed."

the Indian children educated in the Government schools, thus indorsing Morgan's policy in that respect; and he denied our request to withdraw the nominations . . . thus showing his preference for these two men to the hierarchy and the Catholics of the country."[83] In a private communication Stephan's language was less cautious:

> The President is fully in harmony with Morgan and has appointed him for that purpose to cripple our schools.—Morgan glories in that. . . . The President snubbed them (Archbishops Ireland and Riordan) and preferred Morgan to all the Catholic prelates of the United States, like the Jews did Barrabas [*sic*].

Afterwards, according to Stephan, a lame excuse was invented to the effect that if the President had granted the archbishops' request the Protestants would have said the President preferred Catholics. To this he countered:

> but I assure you it is not so. If Jews or Preachers had made such a request, it would have been granted at once—We ought to demand our vested rights as American citizens, without fear. If the Apostles had asked the Kings and Emperors for their opinions and their pleasure, as we do nowadays,—Christianity would have been confined to Jerusalem and died there! . . .[84]

Two weeks after the interview, Harrison sent the names of Morgan and Dorchester to the senate for confirmation.[85] The hierarchy had thus failed in its mission, but this served only to fire the crusading spirit of Father Stephan, who determined to fight the nominations both in committee and on the floor of the senate. Through the instrumentality of friends "on the hill," Stephan almost won his battle. Only after bitter debates and in executive session did the senate on February 12, 1890, confirm Morgan and Dorchester by a vote of twenty-eight to sixteen.[86] Stephan had learned that "the President entered the contest, which changed the whole situation," and he continued

[83] *Official Bureau Report*, p. 3, Stephan to Marty, Washington, July 27, 1892. Cf. fn. 80.

[84] ASBS, Drexel Papers, Stephan to Mother Drexel, Bad Jordan, Germany, August 31, 1891. This backward glance was written from Bad Jordan, Germany, where Stephan was then convalescing.

[85] *Executive Journal of the U. S. Senate*, No. 27, *1889-1891*, pp. 65, 66, 353, 449.

[86] The pros and cons of confirmation were treated fully in the press. For the opposition views cf. the Washington *Post*, December 11, 16, 18, 1889; the Philadelphia *Press*, December 14, 15, 1889; the Dakota *Catholic*, December 21, 1889. Favoring confirmation were the usual A.P.A. organs cited, *supra*, note 67. From the actual vote it can be concluded that the Morgan forces barely mustered enough votes for confirmaton. Cf. *Executive Journal*, p. 449.

Morgan, adroitly raising the religious issue, said there was a Romish conspiracy to defeat him, and that the Jesuits wanted him punished for his public school system views; and through the aid of the American League and kindred societies, he succeeded in uniting in his support a sufficient number to confirm him.[87]

Vindicated in this manner by the United States Senate, Morgan and Dorchester now turned to the rapid execution of their previously announced educational program for the Indians. The first object of attack was the contract school, and by adding new clauses the Commissioner of Indian Affairs attempted to acquire the right, as it was said, "to prescribe the course of study, to direct the grading and classification of pupils in the schools, and to designate the textbooks to be used therein."[88] Stephan would have none of it, and he branded Morgan's moves as "unfair and arbitrary" and calculated to eliminate "all religious instructions and exercises" from the Catholic schools, to "withdraw the brightest pupils from our schools and send them to Government training schools," and to do away with Catholic textbooks and, as he added, "adopt such . . . as he may designate, no matter how obnoxious they may be to us, even including the King James Version of the Bible."[89] Feeling that it was useless to appeal to Morgan, Stephan "went to Congress"[90] where he succeeded in obtaining special congressional appropriations with an explicit stipulation that at least "$535,000 . . . must be used exclusively for the contract schools in operation."[91] This acquisition of a set fund for the exclusive use of the contract schools "(not one cent of which can be diverted to any other purpose)" was bitterly opposed by Morgan, and "the loss of discretion was

[87] *Official Bureau Report,* p. 4, cf. fn. 82. The old-soldier vote in the senate blocked Morgan because of his stained military record. Cf. also New York *Times,* January 24, 1890.

[88] *Official Bureau Report,* p. 14, Stephan to Marty, Washington, July 27, 1892.

[89] Archives of the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus, Mount Saint Michael's College, Spokane, Washington, Stephan to H. D'Aste, S.J., Washington, D. C., May 3, 1890. Hereafter these archives will be referred to as AOPSJ.

[90] *Official Bureau Report, 1891-1892,* pp. 4-14. Both in 1890 and 1891 Stephan made his appearance on Capitol Hill in behalf of the Catholic Indian missions. Other missionary societies (Protestant) located in distant cities did their lobbying by mail and through their respective senators and congressmen.

[91] AOPSJ, John A. Gorman to L[eopold] Van Gorp, S.J., Washington, March 12, 14, 1891. Gorman referred to Stephan's success as a "most signal victory." Cf. also Stephan to Senators Henry L. Dawes and James K. Jones, January 19, 1891, copies, in the archives of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions.

a severe blow to him."[92] John A. Gorman, a former employee of Morgan but now associated with the Catholic bureau, summed up the situation in a note to the Jesuit mission superior in Montana when he said, "Good old Father Stephan, nor any other Catholic priest will in the future, be obliged to go hat in hand begging for his own."[93]

Father Stephan's success drew loud protests from the American Protective Association and its many supporters among the members of the cloth.[94] Boston's "Committee of One Hundred" flooded Congress with public memorials, and the legislators soon felt pressure from their "Rome-conscious" constituents.[95] One senator, friendly to the Catholic cause, related that "while at home he could not sit down to talk with a minister without being called on to explain his action in voting and talking for our schools." This same senator claimed he was satisfied that "Morgan was running a regular bureau of the dissemination of matter" calculated to injure "Catholic Missionary work among the Indians."[96] Morgan's own retaliatory measures in the matter of contract renewals were severe.[97] By delaying renewals and by cutting down allotments on future contracts, he caused a certain amount of financial embarrassment to those missions in the greatest need. The feeling of the Catholic bureau was mirrored by Gorman's judgment that "a man like Morgan who in his bigotry cares nothing for law, justice, or the rights of Indians,"[98] could not be trusted.

By the spring of 1891 Stephan and the Church began to feel the pressure of a literary attack carried on by Morgan through the pages of the government organ, the *Red Man*, published at Carlisle, Pennsylvania.[99] The attacks became so frequent that Stephan wrote a long letter of complaint to John W. Noble, the Secretary of the Interior,[100] but all he got for his

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] *Ibid.*

[94] The National League for the Protection of American Institutions, whose purpose was "to prevent all sectarian or denominational appropriations of public funds," lodged a protest with Congress. Cf. the *Red Man*, July and August, 1890. For the intensely vocal ministerial opposition, cf. D. Manley, "The Catholic Church and the Indians," *Catholic World*, IV (July, 1892), 473-481.

[95] Boston *Evening Transcript*, July 7, 1890.

[96] *Official Bureau Report, 1891-1892*, p. 4 ff.

[97] ASBS, Drexel Papers, Stephan to Mother Katherine, Washington, March 26, 1891.

[98] AOPSJ, Gorman to Van Gorp, Washington, March 14, 1890.

[99] ABCIM, Stephan to Noble, Washington, April 7, 1891. Stephan objected to the *Red Man's* charge that "the Godless schools in the Indian service are the Catholic schools, and they are Godless because they spend so much time in manufacturing and worshipping saints that they have no time left for worshipping God."

[100] *Official Bureau Report*, pp. 20 ff.

effort was an insulting letter from Morgan. The commissioner accused Stephan of seeking what he called "a policy of personal assault, malice and untruthfulness to advance your own ideas and interests by attempting to break down my personal character and injure the success of my administration."[101] What really aroused the priest was Morgan's concluding thrust: "Men admire the courage which defends a principle or belief, be it good or bad, but they despise the cunning and malice of an assassin."[102] To this Stephan sent a stinging rejoinder in which he said "as to breaking down your personal character, this would be impossible to do. The characters and reputations of men are formed and made by themselves. Yours is such as you have made it."[103] At this point Stephan's health failed completely and his physician ordered him abroad without delay. Three days later, on May 2, 1891, the sixty-eight-year old priest sailed on the steamer *Aller* for a cure and a complete rest in his native Germany. It was to be a year and a day before he could begin his return voyage to the United States.[104]

What befell the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions during Father Stephan's enforced absence in Europe is another chapter in the history of the Indian school question. It is sufficient to state that Commissioner Morgan, professedly outraged by continued newspaper attacks[105] on his personal character and his administration of Indian affairs, severed all relations with the Bureau of the Catholic Indian Missions as of July 2, 1891. This rupture proved final and complete despite the intervention of Cardinal Gibbons by letter and the personal appeal of Archbishop Ireland.[106] Contracts were to continue for a time, but the government proposed to make them with the superior of each individual mission, thus by-passing the Catholic bureau entirely. Many, including Bishop Marty, were not pleased by the easy acquiescence shown toward this decision by Gibbons and Ireland,[107] for it was felt that the very life of the Catholic bureau was being sacrificed on the altar of American politics.[108]

[101] Morgan to Stephan, February 27, 1891. A reprint of this letter is in Stephan's *Official Bureau Report, 1891-1892,* p. 25.

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] Stephan to Morgan, April 29, 1891, reprinted in *Bureau Report,* pp. 22 ff.

[104] There are numerous letters from Stephan during his European stay in both the archives of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions as well as among the Drexel Papers in the archives of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.

[105] For the correspondence that passed between Morgan and Father Placide L. Chapelle, vice-director of the Catholic bureau, cf. *The Sixtieth Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, 1891* (Washington, 1891), pp. 161-171 in the special appendix.

[106] *Ibid.*

[107] ABCIM, Luck to Glennan, Washington, July 31, 1891; Luck to Stephan, Washington, July 24, 1891.

[108] *Ibid.*

Relative to the belief that the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions was compromised in the interests of harmony and political strategy, Father Stephan expressed his chagrin to Mother Katherine Drexel. From Germany he wrote:

I am deeply sorry that our Bureau was so outrageously treated by Commissioner Morgan; but a man like him, who was found guilty by a court martial (as the war record in Washington shows) of fourteen charges as: perjury, theft, forgery, etc., etc., and always was a bitter enemy of Catholics could not be expected to give us justice. Instead that good and noble cardinal wrote to this hypocrite Morgan, he ought to have spoken a decisive word to the President and not expose himself to get snubbed by a perjurer and understrapper.[109]

Six months later, while still a convalescent in Germany, Stephan confided once again to Mother Katherine. This time he gave his interpretation of Commissioner Morgan's program in terms of the current political situation. To the superior of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament he stated:

I will quote to you a sentence of a letter received from a congressman dated January 25th viz: "Morgan in a speech before the Indian Commission [*sic*] said there was no trouble now between the Catholics and his Bureau; that Archbishop Ireland and Father O'Gorman called on him and said they were in *entire* accord with his policy and spoke highly of the government school system." If true, then the usefulness of our bureau and the Catholic Indian schools are destroyed, as we cannot go before Congress and demand justice, as the Archbishop has virtually surrendered all our rights. If they do believe Morgan, who was found guilty of *perjury* by a legally appointed court martial, and who openly declared that he would abolish all Catholic Indian schools; then they are to be pittied [*sic*] and if they say they were satisfied with the rulings of Morgan, is more than I can comprehend! Morgan knows we could bring serious charges against him in Congress and that we would get justice done; therefore in order to disable us and to save himself he flatters the Archbishop and promises him everything, until he is over the fatal bridge and if his point is gained he will destroy our schools, as sure as two plus two are four. This year he will let them alone on account of the Presidential election, but as soon as that is over, he will act unmercifully.[110]

Archbishop Ireland, however, shared neither Stephan's pessimism nor Bishop Marty's anger. In writing to John A. Gorman, a staff member of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Ireland said:

I hope you have by this time written a long letter to Bishop Marty. He is very much incensed and a great deal of explanation will be necessary to calm him.

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[109] ASBS, Drexel Papers, Stephan to Mother Katherine, Bad Jordan, Germany, August 31, 1891.

[110] *Ibid.*, Stephan to Mother Katherine, Bad Jordan, Germany, February 2, 1892.

I do not believe he will go East as he is in very bad humor. For my own part I am quite satisfied that we have acted rightly, but it is not easy to bring others to be of one mind with us.[111]

Father Stephan, deeply grieved by the treatment afforded his bureau, was still under the doctor's care; for the time being prayer and advice were his sole fighting weapons. The intervening months prior to his return to Washington in the early summer of 1892 were the longest of his life. He did have time, however, to review the whole nightmare that had marked the bureau's existence since the beginning of Harrison's administration. The more salient points he packed into what he believed was to be his last official report as Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. In late July he had completed his task, and on July 27 he submitted to Bishop Marty the thirty-two-page document with the following covering and all-important introductory paragraph:

I have the honor to submit herewith my annual report, and in view of the important events that have transpired during this past year I feel obliged to review at some length the relations of the Bureau with the head of the Indian Office and other Government officials, more particularly since July 1, 1889, the day Mr. Morgan became Commissioner of Indian Affairs: And, in connection with this matter, I am constrained to request that you will keep this report from the eye of the public; not for the reason that the public should not know of the facts herein stated, for these facts should be known of all men, and being known I am sure they would cause every good citizen of whatever party or religion to marvel at the bigotry and intolerance which have crippled the hand of the Church in its work of educating and redeeming from Paganism the children of our Indian wards. But this is the year of a presidential election, and if this arraignment of the Indian Office were given to the public at this time, party prejudice perverting the judgment of even the best of men would denounce it as an attempt to furnish partisan ammunition to one of the parties to the contest. This result I anticipate, that it may be obviated. I am, and for many years have been, a member of the party to which the bigoted commissioner and the not much less bigoted president, belong; and while I disparage their official conduct and actions in the matter of this report, I deprecate the idea that anything I may feel it to be my duty to say to you in behalf of our most righteous cause, and in protest against the efforts of canting public officers to drive us from one of our most loved field of labors in behalf of the Master, should be used in a campaign of party politics. Therefore, to you and through you, to the other Bishops to whom the facts herein contained should be made known, I respectfully transmit this report with the caution I have included in this, its introductory paragraph.[112]

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[111] ABCIM, Ireland to Gorman, St. Paul, September 14, 1891.

[112] *Report of Rev. J. A. Stephan, Director, to the Rt. Rev. Bishop M. Marty, President of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions 1892* (Washington, 1892), p. 1.

Father Stephan's evident precautions, and his timely warning that his annual report was or could become political dynamite unless kept secret, availed not at all. Within a month both secular and religious organs vied with one another in headlining carefully chosen sections patently hostile to "the bigoted Indian commissioner and the not much less bigoted President." For example, the *Catholic Citizen* of Milwaukee blatantly featured "Father Stephan's Expose of the Government Indian Bureau . . . President Said to be backing an effort to wipe out the Catholic Schools."[113] This made perfect copy for campaign speakers. Later newspaper "come-ons" were varied to read: "Morgan, the Bigot, . . . sustained and fully approved by President Harrison," or the bold-type heading: "Know-Nothingism Again."[114] Among the secular newspapers the Chicago *Tribune* was one of the first to print an out-of-context arraignment of Morgan and Harrison, styling it as a partisan political move by Stephan.[115] Thus there exploded a political bombshell—the very event that Stephan had tried to forestall.

Who broke faith? The A.P.A. had no doubt that Stephan was donning political robes in what was termed "a reprehensible attempt to defeat Harrison."[116] The Catholic press, in possession of only parts of the Stephan report, seemingly had no reason to question its authenticity, and certainly had no scruples in using the release as it appeared in the secular press. To most daily papers the release was considered just another piece of political propaganda. Had Bishop Marty or other members of the Catholic hierarchy called in the press? From the missions of South Dakota on August 29, 1892, Father Stephan in a letter to Mother Kath-

[113] *Catholic Citizen,* September 24, 1892. This was the first Catholic organ to print Stephan's introductory paragraph. No date for the report was given. It was simply characterized as "the following tale of bigotry is from the report of Father Stephan . . . just issued." The report was originally dated July 27, 1892. From other evidence it is certain that the whole copy had leaked out by the middle of August.

[114] *Catholic Herald,* October 8, 1892. This was one of many leaders featured by the prominent Catholic organ of New York City. September 24 brought the first mention of the report.

[115] As cited in the *Catholic Herald,* September 24, 1892.

[116] Stauffer, *op. cit.,* p. 313 concludes: "That this pamphlet [the Stephan report] was intended to be circulated secretly was clearly shown by its introductory paragraph in which Stephan wrote, 'I am constrained to request that you will keep this report from the eye of the public.'" Stauffer's statement is based on the *Independent* (New York), September 1 and 22, 1892, *Argonaut,* September 5, 1892, and *Patriotic American* (Detroit), September 24, 1892. All were organs used by the A.P.A.

erine Drexel, solved the mystery as far as available evidence goes. He wrote:

> Many daily newspapers published that I had sent a secret circular to all priests in the U. S. against Morgan and Harrison. *This is as silly as false.* I have made my annual report fearlessly, according to our by-laws to the President of the Bureau and this report is until [*sic*] now, in the hands of Bishop Marty *only. Nobody* has a copy thereof, *except the printer has stolen one.*—Of course I am outspoken against Morgan's and Harrison's bigotry and discrimination against Catholics.—We are alone classed as sectarians, while the Government pays for Bibles, hymn-books, etc. Should we blindly yield, or have a childish fear we offend some bigoted scoundrel? Not much of it from my side![117]

How the Stephan report became public knowledge never perturbed politicians as the presidential race turned into the home stretch and settled down to the final drive. Each party attempted to use the document to its own political advantage. A.P.A. enthusiasts cited its stinging phrases as positive proof that Catholics, clergy as well as laity, were a meddlesome lot and unreasonably opposed to the common school system.[118] In order to be sure that no Protestant missed this piece of Catholic intrigue, the American Patriotic League, after proper editing, issued the Stephan report in pamphlet form. Bold-face type set off the now famous phrase, "the bigoted commissioner and the not much less bigoted president." This pamphlet enjoyed a wide circulation both in Washington and throughout the nation.[119] The Catholic press, on the other hand, were packing after Morgan and Harrison like hungry wolves. The hunt for bigots was led by Dr. Michael Walsh, editor of the influential *Catholic Herald* and *Sunday Democrat.* From mid-September until the close of the polls Walsh filled his paper with stories of Morgan's bigotry and religious fanaticism. "Morgan has so mixed his anti-Catholic hatred with his politics," he said, "that both are made abhorrent to the true American.

[117] ASBS, Drexel Papers, Stephan to Mother Katherine, Sans Pierre, I. T., August 29, 1892. After the election Stephan also stated that during the campaign he had busied himself among the Indian missions, "gathering evidence to show how unjustly we were treated by the present administration." *Ibid.*, Washington, December 15, 1892. This evidence contradicts the conclusions reached by Dunn, *op. cit.*, and likewise by Stauffer, *op. cit.*, p. 313, and Knoles, *op. cit.*, p. 218, wherein Dunn states: "Fr. Stephen [*sic*] . . . travelled extensively with letters from Church prelates telling leading Catholics what the administration had done with the schools, thus creating a spirit of hostility towards the Republican party" (p. 84).

[118] *Catholic Herald,* October 8, 1892, contained an excellent article, "Bigotry is now very active . . ."

[119] *Ibid.*, October 22, 1892. Cf. Stauffer, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

Harrison is responsible for Morgan's brutal bigotry. Both are enemies of freedom of education, and both will be sent back to private life by an indignant people."[120]

The seriousness of Walsh's campaign to defeat Harrison was evidenced by his publication of a special "anti-Morgan and anti-Harrison" issue of the *Catholic Herald*. That he intended to make political capital cannot be doubted, for he confided his plan of attack to William F. Harrity, national chairman of the Democratic Party. With this gentleman's approval Walsh advised the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland, that the "Indian policy of Commissioner Morgan and the bigotry of the Republican Party could be and should be made the issue in this state, New Jersey, Connecticut and New England."[121] Walsh executed his attack with the finesse of a veteran campaigner and soon "Harrison's Know-Nothingism"[122] was as widely publicized and as well known as Blaine's stigma in defeat, "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion."

When Cleveland was overwhelmingly elected on November 8 much of the Catholic press boasted that the Church had played an important role. *The Courier* of Ogdensburg, New York, declared that Harrison's defeat was a "great Catholic Victory," while the pugnacious editor, Dr. Walsh, joyously proclaimed that "the people of the United States have beaten bigotry black and blue."[123] And what was Father Stephan's reaction? "By the election of Mr. Cleveland," he told his friend Mother Katherine Drexel, "the obstacles are not yet removed and we have hard work from now until the 4th of March next, to get unjust laws repealed. I will stay here and do all I can to clear the road once more. . . ."[124]

West Baden College

[120] *Catholic Herald*, October 8, 1892.

[121] Library of Congress, Cleveland Papers, Walsh to Cleveland (13,776), New York, October 24, 1892. Walsh explained how the cost of the issue postpaid was only $15 per 1,000. Cf. Knoles, *op cit.*, pp. 237 ff., for an excellent analysis of the election results along with the author's conclusions.

[122] *Catholic Herald*, October 29, 1892. "The Know-Nothing spirit of President Harrison is so strong that he would sooner risk the defeat of his party than remove Commissioner Morgan. . . . Like some deadly drug, the poison of Know-Nothingism is slowly but surely undermining the life of the Republican Party. Its effects are seen in the policy of the bigoted Morgan and the not less bigoted President Harrison . . . both members of League for the Protection of American institutions, etc."

[123] Stauffer, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

[124] ASBS, Drexel Papers, Stephan to Mother Katherine, Washington, December 15, 1892.

INTERPRETATIONS OF *UTOPIA*

By

Edward L. Surtz*

The general purpose of Thomas More in *Utopia* may be said to be clear. His intent is to have the Christian nations of Europe, and England in particular, adopt "thoese decrees and ordinaunces . . . well and wyselye prouyded and enacted amonge such peoples as do lyue to gethere in a cyuyle pollycye and good ordre."[1] Europeans are to imitate the open-mindedness and the progressiveness of the Utopians who are glad to communicate the best of their civilization to others and who are alert and eager to adopt whatever is better in foreign cultures.[2] To this end More has "shaped for man a philosophicall citie."[3] This city is intended to rival, perhaps to surpass, another philosophical city, the commonwealth of Plato.[4]

To this end, Thomas More has deliberately and artfully contrasted Book I with Book II, the old world with the new world. The old world of Book I is the world of the early Tudors in which exist inhuman laws that hang the unemployed for stealing, unbridled greed which evicts farmers in order to increase profitable sheep-grazing, unjust distribution of property, dynastic wars, and treacherous treaties. The new world of Book II is a world of justice and reason. People work but six hours a day, and very many persons devote their leisure hours to lectures and study, especially to Greek literature, science, and philosophy in the original. There is no unemployment, no money, no private property, no religious persecution, no wars of aggrandizement. Here, in some way or other, is a pattern for England and Europe.

The basic aim, therefore, seems to be evident. But *Utopia*, as a typical product of the English Renaissance, strives not only to profit

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[1] *The Utopia of Sir Thomas More*, edited by Joseph H. Lupton (Oxford, 1895), p. 33. This edition, containing Robynson's translation of 1551, will be designated simply as *Utopia*.

[2] "Tetrastichon," *Utopia*, p. xciv.

[3] *Loc. cit.*

[4] "Heptastichon," *Utopia*, p. xciii.

readers by its teaching, but also to amuse them by its humor, irony, and cleverness. The fact that it is a subtle and imaginative piece of literature and not a mere sober political, social, or economic treatise must never be forgotten. The all-important question is: how earnest or how playful is this truly golden book (*libellus uere aureus*)?[5] At the end of Hythloday's discourse, More in his own person plainly calls many of the Utopian institutions extremely absurd and singles out in particular three of them: their religion and rites, their practices in war, and their communism.[6] No one, consequently, is so foolish as to claim that the work is wholly jesting or wholly serious. Opinions of scholars and biographers, however, clash violently on the question as to the predominance of play or gravity in *Utopia*.

Interpreters, for the sake of convenience, may be divided into three schools: those who take the *Utopia* too lightly, those who take it too seriously, and those who view it as a document of humanistic reform. Practically all interpreters have to make qualifications and concessions; consequently their assignment to one group or other is based on their *dominant* attitude.

The first school of critics tends to regard *Utopia* in the main as a witty and clever sally of a child of the Renaissance. The judgments of these persons have varied greatly. A century ago, Jules Michelet in his influential *History of France* saw in Thomas More only "a dull romancer" and in his *Utopia* only a trite form, a prosaic subject, a minimum of imagination, and, in spite of this, a minimum of the sense of reality.[7] The severity and injustice of Michelet's pronouncement has not been repeated by any major figure since his time. The other writers who belong to this school seem often to be led by a desire to exonerate More from the charge of the active advocacy of communism, married clergy, and other heterodox views. Ronald Knox, for example, maintains that "to suppose that More would seriously have liked to exchange the usages of England for that of his Utopia in real life is to forget the irresponsibility of the humanists, their love of supporting paradox merely for its own sake, and of suggesting methodical doubts without being prepared to support them." He later concludes: "It is clear, then, that the Utopia was a youthful *jeu d'esprit*, which was intended, indeed, to draw attention to some abuses

[5] Facsimile of title page, *Utopia*, opposite p. lxxvi.
[6] *Utopia*, pp. 307-308.
[7] *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1855), VIII, 414.

of the author's own day, but not to be accepted as a serious programme for their reformation."[8] For Christopher Hollis, too, *Utopia*, "when all praise is allowed, . . . is but a felicitous trifle."[9] Pointing out that "the *Utopia* has been taken by the unco' serious far more seriously than its author meant," the editor of More's English works, William E. Campbell, does not hesitate to claim that More "himself regarded the *Utopia* as the least serious of his literary efforts."[10]

The critical view which emphasizes the literary virtues of *Utopia* to the minimization of any weighty serious purpose on More's part, is refuted by even a cursory analysis of the contents of the work. First of all, almost the whole of the first book, as well as the conclusion of the second, is serious and practical in nature. In dependence, of course, upon the view which one takes of More's real attitude toward communism (whether ideal or practical),[11] one's judgment of the second book will be for either its gravity or its pleasantry. The second book indirectly suggests solutions for all the problems and abuses of the first book almost point for point, e.g., dress, housing, farming, gambling, war, etc. Secondly, the repeated references, either expressed or explicit, to European conditions of life and attitudes of mind, reveal the earnestness of More's aim. In fact, one of the discoveries of deep study of *Utopia* is that More is often far more serious than anticipated, even in such a section as that on pleasure.[12] Thirdly, the contemporaries of More, and later humanists in the sixteenth century, as we shall see, are unanimous in their emphasis of the practical profit to be derived from *Utopia*. This agreement and consent of all those persons who were best qualified to know and to judge More's object in the composition and publication of *Utopia* is a grave argument against taking account of the work primarily as a humanistic *jeu d'esprit*. These same considerations invalidate any attempt to view the *Utopia* as mostly vision brought down to earth occasionally by

[8] "The Charge of Religious Intolerance," in *The Fame of Bl. Thomas More* (London, 1929), pp. 43-44.

[9] *Thomas More* (Milwaukee, 1934), p. 92.

[10] *More's Utopia and His Social Teaching* (London, 1930), pp. 24, 116.

[11] Cf. the present writer's article, "Thomas More and Communism," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, LXIV (June, 1949), 549-564.

[12] Cf. the present writer's articles, "The Defense of Pleasure in More's Utopia," *Studies in Philology*, XLVI (April, 1949), 99-112, and "Epicurus in Utopia," *English Literary History*, XVI (June, 1949), 89-103.

suggestions of practical policy. The very bulkiness of the patently serious passages renders such a theory rather weak.

The second group of scholars take the work gravely indeed. No one, of course, would hold that it is serious down to its last line, since the view would be proved to be erroneous by such manifest absurdities as moving a whole forest in order to avoid work and by such plainly diverting episodes as the quarrel between the friar and the toady.[13] On the other hand, a few have not hesitated to see in the *Utopia* the undisputed, though cautious, advocacy of such hard and practical policies as communism or imperialism.

Arthur E. Morgan is content to trace ingeniously the Utopian government and economy to the Incan communistic institutions in Peru without passing judgment on More's personal convictions, except to say that, like other builders of ideal commonwealths, he had not "fully trusted [his] own visions" and had "apologized for his utopia within its very pages."[14] As for Karl Kautsky, the redoubtable German champion of Marxism, his view of Thomas More as a wholehearted socialist (whose "whole tragedy" lies in the fact that he is "genius who divines the problems of his age before the material conditions exist for their solution")[15] is too well known to merit detailed expositions here. As will be clear later, the *Utopia* must be viewed not as a social tract of the nineteenth century, but as a product of the Renaissance before the Protestant Revolt.

The opinion that More is seriously advocating communism in *Utopia* is not defended only by socialists and communists. Tommaso Cardinal Zigliara, for example, maintains that More, "no less impiously than foolishly [*non minus impie quam stulte*], endeavored to reduce communism to a scientific system"![16] Another Catholic, Reinhold Baumstark, too, struggles hard to preserve the fundamentally serious character of the *Utopia* in its espousal of communism. He concludes:

> Since More, therefore, wrote a thoroughly *socialistic*, and not *political*, book, he had not the least intention of being a slavish imitator of Plato; he went far beyond the Greek thinker since he made the attempt—so

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[13] *Utopia*, pp. 75-78, 212.

[14] *Nowhere Was Somewhere* (Chapel Hill, 1946), p. 175.

[15] *Thomas More and His Utopia*, translated by H. J. Stenning (New York, 1927), p. 249.

[16] *Summa philosophica*, 16th edition (Paris, 1919), III, 179.

frequent and equally so fruitless even to our own day—to reconcile Christianity with true socialistic ideas.

Insofar as More thus came unwittingly into conflict with the pronouncements of the authorities of the Catholic Church on the reprehensibility and impracticality of communism, the *Utopia* must be defined as "the greatest blunder" of More's literary life and work. Consequently, Baumstark feels that he must condemn the book as "the immature product of a humanism which had noble intentions, but which deviated more or less from revealed religion."[17]

Hermann Oncken, whose introduction to Gerhard Ritter's German translation of *Utopia* has been of great importance, especially in Germany, maintains that More wants his work to be taken as a serious contribution to politics, not as a play of humanistic fancy. It is not the idealistic revolutionary, but the practical politician and reformer, who wishes to be heard. In fact, there is a strong vindication of Machiavellian principles in *Utopia* and an active tendency to *Realpolitik*.[18] These traits are shown especially in the Utopians' treatment of friendly and allied countries and in the policy of colonization for excess population.[19] In a word, British imperialism finds one of its earliest and most outspoken defenders in More.

This view can bear scrutiny only in its most benevolent aspects. It is true that More may have been making an appeal for England to turn its attention from continental wars to colonization of sparsely populated regions in North America as a healthful remedy for contemporary evils. In addition, one must not fail to remember More's basic supposition that the Utopians are altogether reasonable and just—almost painfully so—with the result that they cannot remain indifferent to the disturbance of international law and order.[20] At the

[17] *Thomas Morus* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1879), pp. 106-108. Baumstark recognizes the merits of *Utopia:* its pioneering role for a new literary type, viz., utopian literature, its inspirational powers, etc. Cf. pp. 108-109.

[18] *Utopia* [Klassiker der Politik, Band I] (Berlin, 1922), introduction, pp. 22*, 40*.

[19] *Utopia* (ed. Lupton), pp. 154-155, 243 ff.

[20] Cf. Henry W. Donner, *Introduction to Utopia* (London, 1945), pp. 55-57, 60-66, 98-106, for a careful analysis and refutation of the view of Oncken and others influenced by him. One should read also the elaborate critique of Oncken's position by Oswald Bendemann, *Studie zur Staats-und Sozialauffassung des Thomas Morus* (Charlottenburg, 1928).

same time, deeper study may reveal that More's international outlook in *Utopia,* far from being prophetically modern, is imbued with the mediaeval consciousness of the unity of Christian Europe in which the doctrine of non-interference becomes immoral and evil.

Russell Ames, who deliberately concentrates on political, social, and economic relations, considers Utopian society as "a protective disguise for the satire and the dangerously progressive projects of a humanist reformer and middle-class English citizen." For this student of *Utopia,* "the core of the book is republican, bourgeois, and democratic."[21] One criticism which can be made of this thesis is that it does not go deep enough. The Christian faith and the Christian philosophy cut across lines of class distinction. Basic principles, e.g., those of social justice, political integrity, and religious purity, should, therefore, be common to proletarian, bourgeois, and noble. The more one grasps Christianity in all its implications, the more Catholic and the less classbound one becomes. And Thomas More was not an ordinary Christian, but the ideal type designated as "saint." This is evident not only from the years he spent in his twenties in the London Charterhouse, the pious devotions and bodily penances he practiced throughout his life, and the death he suffered for the faith, but just as clearly from his early zeal for reform in the Church and in Christian life in co-operation with reformers like Colet and Erasmus. Fundamental Christian principles lie at the basis of all his criticisms and all his ideas of reformation. More, as we shall see, wants the Christian *spirit* to inform individuals, classes, and institutions.

In contradistinction to the opinion which regards the *Utopia* mainly as a *jeu d'esprit,* to the theory which often attributes to the work stern and real suggestions of policy, and to the view which lays great emphasis upon class sentiment, the present essay tends to consider the *Utopia* essentially a document of humanistic reform. Whether the particular tone of any passage is earnest or playful, serious or light, a pressing problem or issue of the day stands in the background. In a word, no paragraph in the *Utopia* is completely otiose.

In the tetrastich prefixed to the *Utopia,* the island boasts that it has "shaped for man a philosophicall citie" (*[c]iuitatem philosophicam*).[22] By the latter is undoubtedly meant a commonwealth which

[21] *Citizen Thomas More and His Utopia* (Princeton, 1949), pp. 5-6.
[22] *Utopia,* p. xciv.

is constructed along the lines of Plato's republic.[23] In his letter to Willibald Pirckheimer, which was used as a preface to More's epigrams in 1518, Beatus Rhenanus praises the Utopians for having doctrines and institutions which are to be found neither in Plato, nor in Aristotle, nor even in the Pandects of Justinian. "And, in comparison with these men," Beatus continues, "he [More] teaches perhaps less as a philosopher and more as a Christian" (*Et docet minus forsan philosophice, quam illi, sed magis Christiane*).[24] This apparent contradiction between More's tetrastich with its emphasis on philosophy and Beatus' commendation with its stress on Christian teaching can be resolved in two ways. According to the first, More may be considered to have used on his isle customs which appeared distinctly Christian, e.g., the mutual confession of faults before attendance at the common sacrifices.[25] According to the second, Utopian culture, indeed, represents the stage of civilization capable of being achieved solely by the aid of philosophy or reason, but the thought running through every passage is this: if reason alone can reach such heights of morality and happiness, what shame and confusion should fill the hearts of Christians who, in spite of the countless treasures of the revelation and grace of Christ, fall far below the Utopian standards. In brief, insofar as More directly builds his ideal commonwealth upon reason, he is a philosopher; insofar as his admonitions indirectly are addressed to the reputed followers of Christ, he is a Christian teacher.

This critical view of the *Utopia* has appealed particularly to the earnest and careful student of the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries. Only when one ceases to be objective and uses the work to support a favorite system or theory, is one forced to abandon this interpretation. Donner has not hesitated to call it "the Roman Catholic interpretation of *Utopia*."[26] The view, however, has been proposed and defended by non-Catholics as well as Catholics.

Donner's characterization of this theory as Roman Catholic is justified. Especially since the days of St. Thomas Aquinas, whose great

[23] Cf. *Utopia*, pp. 100-101: "If so be that I shoulde speake those thynges that Plato fayneth in hys weale publique. . . ." Cf. also the hexastich: "Nowe am I like to Platoes citie, . . . Yea like, or rather more likely Platoes platte to excell and passe" (*Utopia*, p. xciii).

[24] *Omnia opera Latina* (Lovanii, 1566), fol. 19 recto.

[25] *Utopia*, pp. 291-292.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

achievement is acknowledged to be at once the distinction and the harmonization of faith and reason, Catholics have been cognizant and observant of the difference between nature and grace, reason and revelation, philosophy and theology.[27] Thomas More was an ardent admirer and constant defender of the Angelic Doctor.[28]

Failure to understand the nature, necessity, and power of grace often has led to errors as to the total or partial depravity of human nature after the fall of Adam. In spite of the divergent theories of the Augustinian school and of individuals such as Ripalda and Vásquez, the more common opinion of Catholic theologians since the thirteenth century has been that man, by the effect of original sin alone, has not become more weak and vicious in his natural powers, and therefore in relation to truth and virtue, than he would have been in the state of pure nature. The great Renaissance scholar, Francisco Suárez (d. 1617), labels this view "common and true" and names as upholders of this doctrine the following prominent theologians who lived before or contemporaneously with Thomas More: Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), Duns Scotus (d. 1308), Giles of Rome (d. 1316), Durandus of St. Porçain (d. 1334), Marsilius of Padua (d. 1328), Gabriel Biel (d. 1495), Cajetan (d. 1534), Conrad Koellin (d. 1536), and Dominico Soto (d. 1560).[29]

Very far from being incapable of thinking or doing anything morally good, man, without supernatural grace, can come to the knowledge, not only of speculative and scientific truths, but also of moral and religious truths, such as the existence and perfections of God, the immortality and spirituality of the soul, the duties of man toward his Creator, and the punishments and rewards of the future life.[30] In

[27] Cf. Aquinas, *Expositio super Boetium de Trinitate*, q. II, *passim*. This very important second question has been translated into English by Victor White, O.P., *On Searching into God* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 9-45. Cf. also Etienne Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1938), pp. 69-84, and Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy* (London, 1950), II, 312-323.

[28] Cf. the present writer's article, "'Oxford Reformers' and Scholasticism," *Studies in Philology*, XLVII (October, 1950), 547-556.

[29] For location of the pertinent texts, cf. Suárez, "De Gratia," prolegom. IV, cc. vii-viii, *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1856-61), VII, 207, 215.

[30] Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, I-II, q. 109, a. 1. In "De Gratia," lib. I, cc. i-ii (*op. cit.*, VII, 357, 359, 364), Suárez cites also Bonaventure (d. 1274), Albert the Great (d. 1280), Richard of Middleton (d. 1307?), Durandus, Biel, and Soto. Note that the Utopians possess these truths.

addition, he can perform, without the aid of grace, deeds which are good by nature (*actus naturaliter boni*), such as acts of parental affection, patriotic heroism, and religious devotion.[31] Only the supernatural grace of Christ, of course, can make these thoughts and deeds supernaturally good and conducive to salvation.[32] No Catholic theologian has presumed to speak otherwise since the refutation and condemnation of Pelagianism and Semi-Pelagianism.

The Utopians, having only the natural light of reason on which to rely, possess only natural revelation. In this kind of revelation, God does not speak in a supernatural manner, testifying to the truth of what He says, but manifests Himself through His creatures merely in an indirect way, viz., in a way which requires ratiocination on the part of man. Anthony C. Cotter states the traditional doctrine as follows:

> From the consideration of this visible world, of our moral consciousness, of the course of history, etc., our intellect *infers* (a) the existence of God and His various attributes, especially His supreme dominion and providence, . . . (b) the obligation of loving and worshipping God, . . . (c) the glory of God and our own happiness as our final end. . . . The complexus of these truths is called *natural religion* (Rom. 1, 20).[33]

All intellectual certitude does not rest upon faith alone. This truth is clear, for example, from the official retractation of errors in this matter by Nicholas d'Autrecourt in 1347-48.[34] Without revelation and grace, human reason can come to know, even before the reception of faith, certain religious truths.[35] Among the latter are not only those mentioned above, such as the existence, nature, and attributes of

[31] Aquinas, *Summa theologica,* I-II, q. 109, a. 2; II-II, q. 10, a. 4. In "De Gratia," lib. I, c. viii (*op. cit.*, VII, 404), Suárez names also Albert the Great, Scotus, Durandus, Denis the Carthusian (d. 1471), Biel, Koellin, Cajetan, and Soto, as well as, if properly understood, Marsilius of Padua and Alonso Tostado, Bishop of Avila (d. 1454). Observe that the Utopians are models of natural piety and virtue.

[32] Aquinas, *Summa theologica,* I-II, q. 109, a. 6; *Contra gentiles,* III, 147.

[33] *Theologia fundamentalis* (Weston, Massachusetts, 1940), pp. 25-26. Cf. Aquinas, *Summa theologica,* I, q. 1, a. 1, ad 2; *Contra gentiles,* II, 4.

[34] *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique,* XI, 561-587, and Henricus Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum,* 23rd ed. Clemens Bannwart et Iohannes Bapt. Umberg (Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1937), nos. 553-570. This latter work will be cited simply as *Enchiridion* together with the proper numbers (of paragraphs).

[35] Aquinas, *In Boet. de Trin.*, q. II, a. 3.

God, but also the divine character of the Christian revelation. Before a man embraces the faith, reason can and ought to know for certain the fact of revelation and the motives of credibility. Among the latter are the prophecies and miracles of Christ and the remarkable propagation of the Church.[36]

After a man embraces the faith, reason can attain to some understanding of the mysteries of faith.[37] But reason cannot see clearly or prove with evident arguments all revealed truths.[38] Consequently, Raymond Lull (d. 1315), a highly controversial figure, who in his apostolic zeal is said to have excessively extolled the powers of reason enlightened by faith, was attacked by the followers of St. Thomas and possibly condemned in 1376 by a papal bull of Gregory XI.[39] Finally, human reason in matters concerning God is weak and not immune from error[40]—and hence it must not be trusted too far—and it is not autonomous, but is subject to the uncreated Truth.[41]

[36] Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, II-II, q. 5, a. 3; *Contra gentiles*, I, 6, 9; *De verit.*, q. XIV, a. 10, ad 11. Ludovicus Molina (d. 1600), *Concordia liberi Arbitrii cum gratiae donis, etc.* (Paris, 1876), pp. 30-35, names also Scotus, Durandus, Paludanus (d. 1342), Capreolus (d. 1444), Biel, Almain (d. 1515), Cajetan, and Soto. Cf. *Enchiridion*, nos. 1622-1627, 1634-1639, 1666-1676, 1785-1820, for more recent pronouncements. On religious truths known by reason before the preaching of Christianity, cf. *Utopia*, pp. 266-267: "The moste and the wysest parte" of the Utopians "beleue that there is a certayne Godlie powre unknowen, euerlastyng, incomprehensible," etc. On the motives of credibility, cf. *Utopia*, p. 268: "after they [the Utopians] harde vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctryne, lawes, myracles, and of the no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllynglye shedde brought a great numbre of nations throughe out all partes of the worlde into theire secte; yowe wyll not beleue with howe gladde myndes they agreed vnto the same [i.e., Christianity]."

[37] Aquinas, *Contra gentiles*, I, 7-8; *In Boet. de Trin.*, q. II, arts. 1, 3.

[38] Aquinas, *In Boet. de Trin.*, q. II, a. 2, ad 5.

[39] For three pertinent propositions attributed to Lull, cf. Bernardus Gaudeau, *Libellus fidei* (Paris, 1898), pp. 34-35; Gilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31; Copleston, *op. cit.*, II, 456-459; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 670-671; *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, IX, 1071-1142; also *Enchiridion*, nos. 1795-1796, 1816, for a modern definition by the Church.

[40] Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, I, q. 1, a. 1; *Contra gentiles*, I, 2, 5.

[41] Cf. *Enchiridion*, nos. 1618-1621, 1679-1684, 1789, 1810. Cf. *Utopia*, pp. 297-298: the Utopian is convinced that his form of government is "moste happye and welthye" and that his religion is "moste true," but "yf there bee annye other better then eyther of them is, beynge moore acceptable to GOD, he desiereth hym that he wyll of hys goodnes let hym haue knowledge thereof, as one that is readye too followe what waye soeuer he wyll leade hym."

Consequently, there is no chance for reason and revelation to contradict each other. The Fifth Council of the Lateran in 1513, three years before the publication of *Utopia,* had declared: "Since truth does not at all contradict truth, we define that every assertion contrary to the truth of enlightened faith is altogether false."[42] Reason, on the one hand, explains, supports, and defends revealed truths. Revelation, on the other hand, frees reason from errors; it enlightens reason and strengthens it in its conclusions[43] From the very definition of philosophy as the knowledge, derived from reason, of the ultimate causes of beings, reason is supreme in its own field: philosophy. Christian philosophers, however, must employ divine revelation as a negative or extrinsic norm, that is, they must keep always before their eyes divine revelation as a guiding star which, by its light, will guard them from error and shipwreck and prevent them from expounding theories more or less opposed to the infallible truths revealed by God.[44] Gilson writes:

> To any sincere believer who is at the same time a true philosopher, the slightest opposition between his faith and his reason is a sure sign that something is the matter with his philosophy. For indeed faith is not a principle of philosophical knowledge, but it is a safe guide to rational truth and an infallible warning against philosophical error.[45]

Another important distinction must be drawn in order to lay securely the theoretical foundation for the interpretation of *Utopia.* On account of the elevation of man to a supernatural end and supernatural order, supernatural revelation is absolutely necessary. But how necessary is supernatural revelation for the knowledge of natural religion and the pursuit of natural virtue? Against the fideists who maintain revelation is absolutely necessary, the Catholic Church teaches that revelation is morally necessary in order for men to think correctly about God and His worship and to lead their own lives in accordance with the precepts of the natural law. Only with the help of revelation can mankind know these things with ease, with firm

[42] Joannes D. Mansi (Ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum collectio* (Paris, 1902), XXXII, 842; *Enchiridion,* n. 738.

[43] Cf. *Enchiridion,* nos. 1635, 1799.

[44] Cf. *Enchiridion,* n. 1681; Louis De Raeymaeker, *Introduction to Philosophy,* translated by Harry McNeill (New York, 1948), pp. 20-26; Iulius Dávila, *Introductio ad philosophicam et logica* (Mexici, 1945), pp. 98-104.

[45] *Op. cit.,* p. 83.

certainty, and with no admixture of error.[46] This holds true especially for more difficult precepts of the natural law about which men very often live in ignorance, doubt, or error. Scotus offers the example of the indissolubility of marriage. The natural law extends to the indissolubility of the marital bond, but not in a way evident and manifest to all. "Hence it was expedient that the necessity of this precept should be determined by the positive command of God." Besides, "men obey the natural law alone less readily than the command of God, because they fear and reverence their own conscience less than the authority of God."[47]

It is interesting to speculate if More intends the objectionable features of Utopian thought and conduct, to cite only the "custome of byinge and sellynge aduersaryes,"[48] to represent reason gone riot or become logical to the point of absurdity. The result is that, in order to secure a good end, viz., the avoidance of bloodshed and the triumph of justice and peace, the Utopians rationalize and justify the employment of immoral and unethical means. If they had been fortunate enough to have revelation as a negative norm in their moral philosophy, the error and wickedness of their methods would have become apparent to them. The Christians of western Europe denounce the bribery and assassination sponsored by the Utopians as a "cruell acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde."[49] Yet the very same tactics were being increasingly employed in international war and politics in Europe, and justificative rationalizations for such conduct were being devised and excogitated by Christian statesmen. All this was directed, not to a good end, as in the case of the Utopians, but to such evil ends as territorial expansion, etc. "Wherefore, thou art inex-

[46] Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, I, q. 1, a. 1; II-II, q. 2, a. 4; *Contra gentiles*, I, 4; *De verit.*, q. XIV, a. 10; *Enchiridion*, nos. 1786, 1807-1808. For a more detailed explanation of these statements, cf. George Smith (Ed.), *The Teaching of the Catholic Church* (New York, 1949), I, 4-6; Cotter, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-61; Blasius Beraza, *De gratia Christi* (Bilbao, 1916), pp. 241-248; Aemilius Dorsch, *Institutiones theologiae fundamentalis* (Oeniponte, 1930), I, 350-365; and especially Hermannus Dieckmann, *De revelatione christiana* (Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1930), pp. 212-241.

[47] *Ox.* l. 4, dist. 26, n. 9, quoted in Parthenius Minges, *Ioannis Scoti doctrina philosophica et theologica* (Ad Claras Aquas, 1930), I, 523-524.

[48] Cf. *Utopia*, pp. 248-250.

[49] *Utopia*, p. 250. The meaning of "acte" (*facinus*) here is almost certainly "crime."

cusable, O man, whoever thou art who judgest. For wherein thou judgest another, thou dost condemn thyself. For thou who judgest dost the same things thyself" (*Romans* II, 1).

There can be little doubt, therefore, that a clear grasp of the distinction and relation between reason and revelation leads critics and biographers to adopt the "Catholic" interpretation of *Utopia*.[50] In spite of a few absurd institutions in Utopia, "it holds true that Utopia contained a society which has risen as high as it would be possible for a society to rise . . . whose members had only their unaided reasons to lead them to truth."[51] In the creation of his commonwealth of reason, More is far from being merely academic or theoretical. He intends to make the "virtues of Heathen Utopia show up by contrast the vices of Christian Europe."[52] As Raymond W. Chambers observes, the "underlying thought of *Utopia* always is, *With nothing save Reason to guide them, the Utopians do this; and yet we Christian*

[50] Donner speaks of "the essential correctness" of this interpretation, *op. cit.*, p. vii. Robert P. Adams, "The Philosophical Unity of More's *Utopia*," *Studies in Philology*, XXXVIII (January, 1941), 49-50, asserts that the "Utopians are guided not only by 'reason' but, most essential of all, strictly by *uncorrupted* 'reason' or 'nature,' which in Utopia is forcibly kept from all possible corruptions to which men are liable." If by "*uncorrupted* reason" the author means that the Utopians owe their sound ideas to their upbringing and learning (*Utopia*, p. 183) and to exclusion of foreign or antagonistic ideologies, he is correct, provided that proper reservations, of course, are made for the eagerness of the Utopians to hear experienced or learned travelers (*Utopia*, pp. 219-220) and for their willingness to acquire new knowledge (*Utopia*, pp. 112-113, 212-214). If he means reason absolutely unimpaired by original sin (say, the reason of Adam in the state of innocence), his statement is hardly true. The reason of the Utopians is not uncorrupted reason, but fallen reason at its best, since the inhabitants of Utopia, in spite of their great intellectual powers, need Christianity and undergo baptism (*Utopia*, p. 269). Christianity is necessary to correct their defective notions on divorce, euthanasia, assassination, etc.

[51] Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 64. "More's main purpose . . . was to decide how far unaided man can progress, what elements of Christian teaching he could possibly have foreseen for himself, which he could not have foreseen" (p. 62).

[52] Raymond W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (London, 1935), p. 127. The great influence exerted by Chambers in the propagation of the Catholic interpretation can be gauged by the words of Donner: "After the brilliant exposition of the meaning of the *Utopia*, given by the late R. W. Chambers, . . . there can be little doubt about the essential correctness of the third [or Catholic] interpretation." *Op. cit.*, p. vii.

Englishmen, we Europeans . . . !"[53] John S. Brewer, too, had much earlier commented:

> [T]hough *The Utopia* was not to be literally followed, . . . Utopia might serve to show a corrupt Christendom what good could be effected by the natural instincts of men when following the dictates of natural prudence and justice. . . . If property could never be common, Utopia might teach men how great was the benefit to society when the state regarded itself as created for the well-being of all, and not of a class or a favored few.[54]

It seems futile to remark that Utopia, the ideal republic of paganism, is far from being the goal set by More for Christian Europe. The Christian state should surpass the pagan commonwealth to the degree that, in St. Paul's epistles, the new man is superior to the old man (*Ephesians* IV, 22-24; *Colossians* IV, 9-12). At this very time, Erasmus, the great friend of More, was advising the future Emperor Charles V: "Whenever you think of yourself as a prince, remember you are a *Christian* prince! You should be as different from even the noble pagan princes as a Christian is from a pagan."[55] The consideration, therefore, that every paragraph or section is related, in some way or other which must be determined in each case, to the contemporary scene in England and Europe, should be constantly in the mind of every careful reader of *Utopia*. In a word, More's book is essentially a document of reform.[56]

The term *document* is used designedly instead of the term *program*. The latter might mean that More intends the institutions of the Utopian commonwealth and the morality of its citizens to be adopted in their entirety without discrimination or without modification. This

[53] *Op. cit.*, p. 128. Read the section entitled "The Meaning of Utopia," pp. 125-131. Cf. also Daniel Sargent, *Thomas More* (New York, 1933), p. 69. For a long series of contrasts between Utopia and Christendom and of lessons to be learned, cf. William J. Grace, "The Conception of Society in More's *Utopia*," *Thought*, XXII (June, 1947), 288-289.

[54] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, (London, 1864), II, Part I, cclxx.

[55] *The Education of a Christian Prince*, translated by L. K. Born (New York, 1936), p. 152; cf. also p. 203. On this greater perfection demanded of the Christian, cf. also St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, in *Opere omnia* [Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Tomus XLI] (Paris, 1846), VII, 162-165.

[56] The aspect of reform in *Utopia* has been stressed in Emile Dermenghem, *Thomas Morus et les Utopistes de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1927). Cf., e.g., pp. 106-107. For Dermenghem, More is very much "un moraliste" (p. 178).

would be against More's mind. He wants the Christians of Europe to welcome "thoese decrees and ordinaunces that he [Hythloday] marked to be well and wyselye prouided and enacted" (*recte prudenterque prouisa*), not "the manners and lawes of that people [Utopians] . . . instituted and founded of no good reason" (*perquam absurde instituta*).[57] Among the latter More places communism. Suppose that Utopian communism be used as an illustration of the above view. As an ideal More may favor communism and adopt it for his ideal commonwealth where, except for a few, the vast majority of the citizens are ideally reasonable and ideally virtuous. "For it is not possible for all thynges to be well, onles all men were good."[58] But forced to face, and deal with, men who are not all good but compounded with weaknesses and faults, More decides "to handle the matter wyttelye and handsomelye for the purpose."[59] Since communism is impractical and unfeasible, the owners of private property must be made to realize that their possessions must be at least common in *use*. They should behave, not as absolute possessors, but as Christian stewards, who treat their fellow servants as human beings and share their wealth with the needy of Christ. Private ownership may be a second best to communism in the ideal world, but it is the very best in the world of reality. For, "that whyche yowe can not turne to good, so . . . in order it that it be not very badde" (*quod in bonum nequis uertere, efficias saltem ut sit quam minime malum*).[60]

Thus far, only internal evidence has been employed in this interpretation of *Utopia*. What does the external evidence, as found in the opinions of More's contemporaries or immediate successors, disclose of the nature of the work?

The very first edition of *Utopia* (1516) is revealing. In his letter to Jerome Busleyden, Petrus Aegidius (Gilles) marvels at More's outstanding prudence which calls attention to all the "originall causes and fountaynes . . . whereof yssueth and springeth the mortall confusion and vtter decaye of a commen wealth" (*fontes, unde omnia reipublicae uel oriuntur mala, uel oriri possent mala.*)[61] The same view that More is going to the sources of contemporary problems is shared by Gerardus Noviomagus (Geldenhaur) and Cornelius Grapheus (Schreiber). Noviomagus exclaims that More here reveals the

[57] *Utopia*, pp. 33, 307.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] Gilles to Busleyden, *Utopia*, p. xcvii.

"hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue" (*fontes . . . recti prauique*).[62] Grapheus asks the reader of *Utopia:* "Wilt thou of vertue and of vice vnderstande the very grounde?" (*Vis qui uirtutum fontes, uis unde malorum Principia?*)[63] Jerome Busleyden writes that Thomas More achieves this end of disclosing the sources of modern ills and thereby saving the great nations of Europe from the fate of Sparta, Athens, and Rome, by his "picture of a perfect state: one which directed its chief energies not so much to framing laws as to appointing the most approved magistrates." The "upholding of one uniform justice, equality and communion" must be made "the entire end of every action." Pursuit of this principle will eliminate in individuals the vices of intrigue, luxury, envy, wrong, avarice, and "that most pitiable of all things, ambition," and in states the great evils of political strife, armed outbreak, and intestine wars.[64]

In a letter to Peter Gilles which was printed only in the first two editions of *Utopia,* Joannes Paludanus (Van der Broeck) writes that from this mirror of a perfect commonwealth Europeans could borrow the Utopian method of administering a state. Rome had bravery and Greece learning, but Utopia had given, once for all, the whole sum of all virtues to the sons of earth.[65] In his letter to Thomas Lupset in the second edition of *Utopia* (Paris, 1517), Guillaume Budé praises the Utopians for keeping the wisdom of Christ undefiled because they have held with an iron grasp to "three divine institutions: namely, the absolute equality . . . of all things good and bad among fellow-citizens; a settled and unwavering love of peace and quietness; and a contempt for gold and silver." These three things banish "all fraud, all imposture, cheating, roguery, and unprincipled deception."[66]

In his classic letter to Ulrich von Hutten on Thomas More's life and character (1519), Erasmus succinctly explains that More's purpose in the publication of *Utopia* was, with England especially in mind, to point out "by what things it comes about that commonwealths are less well off" than they should be.[67] In other words, More in *Utopia* treats the sources of national evil and calamity. Eras-

[62] "De Utopia," *Utopia,* p. 321.
[63] "Ad lectorem," *Utopia,* p. 322.
[64] Busleyden to More, *Utopia,* pp. 316-317.
[65] *Utopia* (Paris, 1517), fol. b. iii^{v}-iv^{r}.
[66] Budé to Lupset, *Utopia,* p. lxxxvii.
[67] Ep. 999, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi,* edited by Percy S. Allen *et al.* (Oxford, 1906—), IV, 21.

mus gives a negative view of the work; George Lily reveals its positive side: "Since he loathed the corrupt manners of this wicked age, his purpose was to show by a pleasant fiction the right path to a blessed and most happy life."[68] It was "the matter . . . fruteful and profitable" in this "fruteful and profitable boke . . . setting forth the best state and fourme of a publique weale" which induced Ralph Robynson to translate it into English (1551).[69] Finally, for Nicholas Harpsfield also, in his *Life of More* (written apparently not later than April, 1557),[70] the *Utopia* pictures "an exquisite platforme, paterne and example of a singular good common wealth, as to the same neyther the Lacedemonians, nor the Athenienses, nor yet, the best of all other, the Romanes common wealth is comparable."[71]

Can anything be learned of the inmost nature of Utopia from these citations from the writings of More's own generation and that after him? A notable truth emerges: *Utopia* was written primarily to rereveal the causes and roots of contemporary ills. Where do these causes and roots lie? They rest less in the external conditions and influences of the age than in the vices and crimes of individuals and classes. To point the way to the elimination of immoral habits and behavior, More paints an ideal republic, composed of ideal men who work only for the ideal of the common good. He does not want every law and custom of the Utopians to be adopted by Europeans, but he does long to see the *spirit* of the Utopians, especially the zeal for the common good of all the citizens, dominate the governmental policies of Christian princes and magistrates. In a word, More's foremost purpose is the exposure and description of the vices and virtues which ruin a state or cause it to flourish. The depiction of the ideal common-

[68] *Elogia doctorum virorum*, tit. 89, quoted in Thomas Stapleton, *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More*, translated by Philip E. Hallett (London, 1928), p. 33. Stapleton ascribes the words to Paulus Jovius (Paolo Giovio), but their real author is George Lily. In praise of More, Lily writes also: "Utopia, described with a view to furnishing the pattern of a happy commonwealth founded on the best laws, has commended to posterity the loftiness of his outstanding talents."—*Virorum aliquot in Britannia, qui nostro saeculo eruditione et doctrina clari memorabilesque fuerunt, elogia*, in Paulus Jovius, *Descriptio Britanniae etc.* (Venetiis, 1548), fol. 53 verso.

[69] "The Epistle of the Translatour," *Utopia*, p. 17.

[70] *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*, edited by E. V. Hitchcock (London, 1932), pp. xv, xxi, 100.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

wealth by Hythloday is secondary and used as means to an end. If communism is possible and practicable only in an ideal state existing solely in the mind, let other necessary measures be taken to secure the more equitable distribution of property and wealth and the more upright reward of the hard working members of the community. As it were, "Communism!" is the challenge hurled by Hythloday in a world insanely grasping at money. Against his extreme remedy the powers that rule men's destinies will be forced to defend and adopt more moderate measures which will result in justice and prosperity for all the constituents of the commonwealth—or for as many as possible. Just as in recent years the espousal of communism has called forth a more just view of the limitations of the rights of property, so More proposes communism in *Utopia* with a view to the more just distribution and use of property in his own day.[72]

The view of the sixteenth-century figures just mentioned is verified in the *Utopia* itself. More, for example, wants to break the power of money. Whether this happens by the enactment of sane laws or through the adoption of strict communism,[73] is, in one sense, immaterial. The all-important consideration is the reduction of gold and silver to their proper place, even if it means their elimination. "[O]ne only beast, the prince and mother of all mischiefe, pride, doth withstonde and let it."[74] The death of money spells the death also of "fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabling, striffe, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning."[75]

[72] Insofar as More looks back to the social and economic institutions of the Middle Ages and protests against the abuses of capitalism and commercialism, William Morris is right in thinking that "More must be looked upon as the last of the old rather than the first of the new." Foreword to *Utopia* in Robynson's translation revised by Frederick S. Ellis (Hammersmith, 1893), p. iv. This view is verified in the reforms suggested in *Utopia*, pp. 57-58, 94-95, etc., which aim at the restoration of the old system and the realization of the old ideals.

[73] *Utopia*, pp. 57-58, 104, sqq.

[74] *Utopia*, p. 306.

[75] *Utopia*, p. 304. Dermenghem, *op. cit.*, p. 106, also claims that More "had an eye especially to the interior life, and wishes to change morals, tendencies, souls, before changing laws." In less than a decade Ignatius of Loyola was to write in a little book which helped to transform the face of Catholic Europe the following warning against wealth as the root of contemporary evils: "[T]hey [the demons dispatched by Lucifer] have first to tempt with a longing for riches—as he [Lucifer] is accustomed to do in most cases—that men may more easily come to vain honor of the world, and then to vast pride. So that the

The preoccupation of the *Utopia* with poverty and wealth undoubtedly has caused recent critics to regard the work principally as a social and economic document. As a matter of fact, however, much attention is paid to the political conditions of the time, especially to the growing absolutism of king and magistrates and to the disheartening ravages of international wars. The mediaeval—and hence conservative—stamp of his thought is patent.[76] Extremely important, too, is the last chapter of the second book which is devoted to the religions of Utopia.[77] At the present time, the secularization of the western world has progressed so far that the idea of the separation of Church and State has become commonplace. But not so in the past. Public worship or religion as an integral part or function of the state, no matter how external or indifferent, was taken for granted by practically all ancient and mediaeval nations and races. It would have been inconceivable likewise for More, a child of the classical revival born into a world largely mediaeval, to have depicted an ideal commonwealth without devoting some portion to an ideal—although natural, not supernatural —religion of the state.

The *Utopia,* to sum up, is a pre-Reformation humanistic document with an eye to the reform of all phases and departments of the Christian state. If an ideal pagan state like Utopia which is based solely upon nature and philosophy can attain such glory and triumph, what a paradise upon earth could not a Christian nation create, which has, besides the finest products of reason and antiquity, the surpassing treasures of revelation and grace to aid and sustain it!

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first step shall be that of riches; the second, that of honor; the third, that of pride; and from these steps he [Lucifer] draws on to all the other vices."—"Meditation on the Two Standards," *The Spiritual Exercises,* translated by Elder Mullan (New York, 1949), pp. 74-75.

[76] As a political thinker in his later works, More may be summed up best as a "medieval theorist in a national state protecting Christian unity with his life against the disintegration of the European civilization into which he had been born." Marshall Smelser, "The Political Philosophy of St. Thomas More as Expressed in His Theological Controversies," *St. Louis University Studies in Honor of St. Thomas Aquinas* (St. Louis, 1943), I, 32.

[77] One of the accidentally good effects occasioned by Heinrich Brockhaus' *Die Utopia-Schrift des Thomas Morus* (Leipzig, 1929) has been to call attention to the religious reformation suggested in *Utopia.*

MISCELLANY

TITHES IN COLONIAL MINAS GERAIS

By

Manoel Cardozo*

Rich in gold and diamonds, the Captaincy of Minas Gerais[1] was surely the fairest portion of Brazil during the major part of the eighteenth century, the greatest contributor to the Royal Exchequer. Most of the gold produced in Brazil from 1680 to 1820, reputedly worth $800,000,000, came from Minas Gerais.[2] Most of the diamonds produced from 1728 to 1801, valued at approximately $50,000,000, also came from Minas Gerais.[3] Clearly the per capita wealth of a Captaincy that in 1776 had no more than 319,769 people[4] was enormous. Indeed, so extraordinarily privileged was the Province in the heyday of its prosperity that it was the most profitable of the overseas possessions of the Portuguese Crown. In addition to the quint on gold, which was collected separately,[5] and the income from the royal diamond monopoly,[6] the public revenue of the Captaincy was derived from a variety of duties, fees, taxes, and levies,[7] not the least important part of which was the proceeds from tithes.

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[1] First organized administratively in 1709, as part of the Captaincy of São Paulo, Minas Gerais became a separate and independent captaincy in 1720.

[2] Robert C. Simonsen, *Historia economica do Brasil 1500-1820* (São Paulo, 1937), II, 96. Simonsen gives the totals in pounds sterling.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[4] Exclusive of the inhabitants of the territory known as Minas Novas do Arassuaí. José de Sousa Azevedo Pizarro e Araújo, *Memorias historicas do Rio de Janeiro e das provincias annexas á jurisdicção do vice-rei do estado do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1822), VIII, Pt. II, 257; José João Teixeira Coelho, "Instrucção para o governo da capitania de Minas Gerais . . . 1780," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, XIV (1852), 262.

[5] Cf. my articles, "The Collection of the Fifths in Brazil, 1695-1709," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX (August, 1940), 359-379; "Os quintos do ouro em Minas Gerais (1721-1732)," *Congresso do mundo português* (Lisboa, 1940), X, 117-125.

[6] Cf. Simonsen, *op. cit.*, II, 80-84; Augusto Lima Júnior, *História dos diamantes nas Minas Gerais século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro, 1945).

[7] Tithes, import duties (*entradas*), portage fees (*passagens*), and levies on the salaries of the officers of justice.

Tithes may be described as the tenth part of the produce of the land, payable in kind or in money, for the maintenance of the clergy and other church purposes. Tithes are an ancient tribute of the Church and part of its law, but they are not as such prescribed in the New Testament; St. Paul simply obliges the faithful to provide for the material support of the ministers of the gospel. The first ecclesiastical law on the payment of tithes was promulgated in the sixth century, and throughout the Middle Ages tithes were collected in one form or another. The obligation to pay was renewed at the Council of Trent, and spiritual penalties were imposed on those who failed to fulfill this duty.[8]

The collection of tithes in the old Portuguese Empire was a privilege of the religious-military Order of the Militia of Jesus Christ, generally known as the Order of Christ. When the Knights of the Temple were suppressed by Clement V in 1312, the King of Portugal, anxious to preserve their wealth, asked the Holy See to create a new Order in Portugal. This was done by John XXII on March 15, 1319 with the bull *Ad ea ex quibus cultus.* Bound by the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, members of the Order of Christ had as their purpose the spread of Christianity through fighting the Saracens.

With the appointment of Prince Henry the Navigator as Grandmaster, and as the result of the first Portuguese contacts overseas, the Order was given spiritual jurisdiction *nullius dioecesis* over the lands discovered or to be discovered by the Portuguese in the Ocean Sea as far as India. The right of collecting tithes in these lands was vested implicitly in the Order. When Pope Julius III, by annexing to the Crown in perpetuity the grandmasterships of the three Portuguese military orders, including that of Christ, by his bull *Praeclara charissimi* of December 30, 1551, the implicit prerogative became in effect a *regalia* of the Crown.[9]

In return for this privilege—I shall not go into the matter of ecclesiastical patronage, which the Crown in one capacity or another also enjoyed—the sovereigns of Portugal assumed the obligation of supporting religion and the church establishments in their overseas possessions. At the beginning of the period of expansion the proceeds from the tithes

[8] Oscar de Oliveira, *Os dízimos eclesiásticos do Brasil nos períodos da Colônia e do Império* (Juiz de Fora, 1940), chapter 2, *passim.* This is an excellent study, originally prepared as a doctoral dissertation at the Gregorian University. It was first called to my attention by Professor Orlando Carvalho of the Law School of the University of Minas Gerais.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 29 ff. It was clear to Dom Pedro de Almeida, Count of Assumar, former Governor of Minas Gerais, in his report of September 21, 1733 (Arquivo de Santa Luzia, Lisbon, Box 408), that the king received the tithes not as king but as grandmaster of the Order of Christ.

collected in the Empire were clearly insufficient to cover the material needs of religion, and deficits were accordingly paid from the general funds of the Royal Exchequer. With the growth of the Christian communities that comprised the Empire, the income from the tithes increased to the point where the Crown no longer had to make use of other funds to satisfy the requirements of the Church. This situation, as we shall see, was especially true of Minas Gerais, where, moreover, not inconsiderable sums from the tithes were used for other than ecclesiastical purposes.

Tithes, as the term was understood in Brazil at the beginning of the eighteenth century, were real, mixed, or personal. According to the constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia,[10] which were generally followed in all the dioceses of Brazil, the Church was entitled to (but did not herself collect, since this was a privilege of the Order of Christ) the tenth part of such agricultural products as manioc, corn, rice, sugar, tobacco, potatoes, beans, oranges, lemons, and bananas. In addition the Church was entitled to the tenth part of other products of the land, such as wood, whether they were raised naturally or through cultivation. Strictly speaking, the Church was also entitled to the tenth part, preferably the tenth part of the sale price, of sub-soil products, such as gold and precious stones, but tithes were never collected in Brazil on minerals, possibly because the obligation of the quint was onerous enough.[11] These tithes were known as real.

Mixed tithes were those collected on cattle and other animals, fowl, fish, beehives, honey, wax, wool, cheese, milk, butter, tile, brick, plaster, spirits, dovecotes, and on the products and profits of sugar mills and other mills, bread ovens, etc. Personal tithes were the tenth part of the net proceeds of any office, trade, business, or day labor. These were customarily paid directly to the pastors, in Bahia as in Minas Gerais, in the form of *conhecenças* or fees, generally during the Easter season.

Lay people as well as pastors with tenure were bound to pay tithes. Pastors, however, were exempt from doing so on products raised on lands belonging to their churches. Some religious orders, by canon law

[10] *Constituiçoens primeyras do arcebispado da Bahia Feytas, & ordenadas pelo illustrissimo, e reverendissimo senhor D. Sebastiaõ Monteyro da Vide, Arcebispo do dito Arcebispado, & do Conselho de Sua Magestade, propostas, e aceytas em o sinodo diecesano que o dito senhor celebrou em 12. de Junho de 1707* (Lisboa, 1719), §418 ff.

[11] Father Júlio Francisco, of the Congregation of the Oratory of Lisbon, in his report of December 30, 1729 (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Manuscritos Avulsos) argues that since tithes were due *de omni fructu*, tithes also ought to be collected on sub-soil wealth. This point of view was shared by many canonists, but it was never put into practice by the Crown.

and by special privilege, were also exempt from the obligation. Commanders, knights, and *freires* of the military orders owed tithes only on the products of their private lands. Hospitals, asylums, brotherhoods, and any other charitable or pious institution, owning property, paid tithes, unless they were specifically released from so doing.[12]

The tithes of Minas Gerais were customarily farmed out to the highest bidder.[13] At the beginning bids were received in Minas Gerais; later on, in Lisbon.[14] Until 1715 the tithes of Minas Gerais were administered by the Royal Exchequer of Rio de Janeiro, but the contracts were signed in Minas Gerais. After 1715, in accordance with the royal letter of October 30, 1714, the tithes of Minas were separated from those of Rio.[15] In matters spiritual the Captaincy remained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rio until the erection by Benedict XIV of the Diocese of Mariana by *motu proprio* of December 6, 1745.[16]

For the purpose of tithing, Minas was divided into four regions, corresponding to the Captaincy's counties or *comarcas:* Vila Rica, Sabará (Rio das Velhas), Rio das Mortes, and Cerro Frio. Bids could be and were accepted from the same person for one or more counties, but ordinarily the tithes were farmed out to several individuals. As a rule the period of each contract was three years.[17]

Each contractor paid a levy to the Crown equal to one per cent of his bid, which sum was set aside for pious works. Each contractor also paid

[12] *Constituiçoens primeyras,* §426 ff. Cf. also Oliveira, *op. cit.,* chapter 4.

[13] During the years 1765-1768 the tithes were collected directly by the Royal Exchequer since there were no bidders for the concession. "Erario regio de S. M. F. Ministrado pella Junta da Real Fazenda de Villa Rica. Collecção de notiçias que constetuem hum medianno conhecimento da Origem dos rendimentos, e suas destribuiçoeš do seo principio, augmento, e declinaçaõ; mendigadas por hunš, e fragmento de outros Livros da Provedoria; a impulços do infatigavel Zello, e Exquiziçaõ do Illm.º e Exmº Snr Luis Diogo Lobo da Sylva G.or, e Capp.am General da Capitania das Minnas Geraes, e Prezidente da Junta. Escripta, e refrendada pello Contador da mesma no anno de 1768." Arquivo Público Mineiro, Belo Horizonte, Códice Avulso. Hereafter cited as "Erario regio."

[14] Because the amounts offered by prospective contractors in Lisbon were deemed insufficient, the Overseas Council on January 27, 1741, authorized the receipt of bids for the next contractual period in Minas Gerais and the awarding of the contracts there. *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Raimundo Trindade, *Archidiocese de Marianna Subsidios para a sua historia* (São Paulo, 1928), I, 83.

[17] The tithes of the captaincy were once farmed out for a period of six years and five months, beginning on August 1, 1777, and ending on December 31, 1783. Teixeira Coelho, *op. cit.,* p. 402.

certain stipulated emoluments to the members of the Overseas Council in Lisbon and to other officials of government, as well as a determined sum for rations or *munições*. Contractors collected the tithes themselves or through their agents.[18] By virtue of the resolution of December 23, 1738, contractors were thenceforth allowed three years following the termination of their contracts in which to collect the sums that might still be due them.[19]

In his report of September 21, 1733, the former governor of Minas Gerais, Dom Pedro de Almeida, Count of Assumar, observed that the tithes of the Captaincy were not collected as simply as in Europe, "pagandosse de *10* hũ." In Minas Gerais the contractor and the individual farmer or cattleman would together decide the amount to be paid, generally in installments spread over a period of a year, in coin or in gold, not in kind.[20]

The first tithes in Minas Gerais, according to Teixeira Coelho, amounting to the equivalent of $130, were collected in 1704. Thereafter, and until 1776, except for the years 1711-1715, for which no figures are available, the contracts let out, and the tithes actually collected by the Crown during the years 1765-1768, amounted to the grand total of $887,519.[21] Other sources are not so complete, nor do they give exactly the same figures. Thus, according to the Auditor *(Contador)* of the Royal Exchequer of Vila Rica, in his report of 1768, the contracts for the years 1716-1753, when payments were made in gold bullion and not in money, amounted to 1,932,643 drams of gold; from 1753 until 1763 the total may be estimated at $168,205.[22] In 1788 the figures at the disposal of the home government were only for the years 1747-1750, 1756-1759, 1762-1765, 1765-1768, 1768-1770, 1774-1777, 1777-1782, and 1784-1786, a grand total of $382,362.[23]

[18] "Erario regio."

[19] Teixeira Coelho, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-402.

[20] The report is cited above.

[21] The sums given above correspond to *milréis* 668$750 and 4.533:945$287, respectively. Teixeira Coelho, *op. cit.*, p. 403. In computing the dollar equivalents, I have multiplied these figures 2.25 times and translated them into dollars at the rate of 8.7 cents per *milréis*, the official exchange in 1937. This method is suggested by Simonsen, *op. cit.*, I, unnumbered pages 113-114. The dollar equivalents appear to me to be unrealistic, but Simonsen was the only source, for Brazil, to which I could turn.

[22] *Milréis* 859:285$000. "Erario regio."

[23] 1.953:319$218. Martinho de Melo e Castro, "Instrucção para o Visconde de Barbacena Luiz Antonio Furtado de Mendonça, governador e capitão general da capitania de Minas Geraes," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, VI (1844), 52-53.

It must not be supposed, on the other hand, that the amounts of the contracts were always liquidated. By 1788 a total of $140,532 was still due the Royal Exchequer from obligations that had not been fully discharged.[24] As Martinho de Melo e Castro wrote to the new governor of Minas Gerais, the tax farmers of the Captaincy never felt compelled to live up to their contracts.[25] Even so, the sums turned in were quite large, and the Exchequer, defrauded though it at times was, looked upon the tithes as an "importante rendimento do patrimonio regio. . . ."[26]

We do not know exactly how much money was set aside by the Exchequer for the church establishment in Minas Gerais until a number of years after the creation of the Diocese of Mariana. No figures of any kind are available for the earliest years. By the Royal Provisions of 1718 and 1724, parish priests were granted an annual subsidy of $39,[27] an amount that remained unchanged well into the nineteenth century. It is true, of course, that in addition to the roval subsidy or *côngrua,* each parish priest was entitled to, and did receive, certain fees or offerings from the faithful, *viz.,* for the celebration of Mass, for a burial service, for baptisms, etc.[28] It is also true that some priests engaged in business or in agriculture, and had therefore outside incomes.[29] Yet these fees and incomes were clearly independent of the tithes, and did not in conscience or in law relieve the king of his obligations towards the Church.

When the diocese of Mariana was formed, the bishop was granted an annual stipend of $195 and an additional $78 for rent.[30] These sums were subsequently supplemented by income from other sources, to the extent of an estimated $1,644 per annum,[31] but this extra sum was not contributed by the Royal Exchequer and does not figure, as a consequence, in the Crown's budget for the Church. The Crown, moreover, does not seem to have contributed to the construction and maintenance of the seminary established by the first bishop in 1749. For many years the expenses of the school, which had chairs of Latin, moral theology, and

[24] 717:906$758. *Ibid.,* p. 53.

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 57.

[26] *Ibid.,* pp. 51-52.

[27] 200 *milréis.* Pizarro e Araújo, *op. cit.,* pp. 81-82; Melo e Castro, *op. cit.,* p. 5.

[28] A schedule of fees was published by Dom Frei Manoel da Cruz, the first Bishop of Mariana, in 1749. It is transcribed in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro,* VI (1844), 198-201. There is a contemporary copy of this document in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Códice 311, 6-8.

[29] See Teixeira Coelho, *op. cit.,* pp. 309 ff.

[30] 1,000 and 400 *milréis,* respectively. "Erario regio." Cf. Teixeira Coelho, *op. cit.,* p. 272.

[31] 8:400$000. Teixeira Coelho, *op. cit.,* p. 272.

philosophy, were probably covered entirely by private benefactions.[32] Beginning in 1774, professors received annual salaries of $39, not, however, out of the tithes but out of the *Subsídio Literário*.[33]

In 1768 the canons, chaplains, archpriests, archdeacons, cantor, masters of ceremonies, organists, choir boys, sacristan, vicar-general, etc., attached to the cathedral church, were allotted a total of $1,344 per annum.[34] The salaries of the members of the chapter and of the officials of the Mariana Cathedral began to be paid by the Crown on December 8, 1748. At that time a total of $1,174, including a sum for the maintenance of the church structure and for the church offices, was earmarked for this purpose. Some of the stipends were increased in 1752 and again in 1756.[35]

We have already observed that each parish priest received an annual stipend from the Crown of $39. In 1768 there were 9 priests in the county of Vila Rica, 11 in Rio das Mortes, 10 in the city of Mariana, 12 in Sabará, and 2 in Cerro Frio,[36] or a total of 44. Another source gives the names of 49 parishes in the Captaincy, 11 in the area of Mariana, 9 in the area of Vila Rica, 12 in the county of Sabará, 15 in Rio das Mortes, and 2 in Cerro Frio.[37] From time to time certain sums were provided by the Royal Exchequer for the repair of the churches. During the decade 1757-1766 this amounted to an average of $670 per year.[38]

During the same period the annual average expense to the Crown of the church establishment in Minas Gerais totalled $4,011.[39] Concomitantly, the Crown received in tithes an annual average of about $14,681, which clearly means that the tithes of Minas Gerais, at least during these years, were not fully used for the purpose for which they were intended. Indeed, the tithes, collected ostensibly for the benefit of the Church, became one of the important sources of ordinary revenue for the Royal Exchequer.[40]

It is interesting to point out by way of comparison that the military

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

[33] 200 *milréis*. Pizarro e Araújo, *op. cit.*, p. 80. The special tax, known as the *Subsídio Literário*, because it was levied for educational purposes, was established by the law of November 10, 1772.

[34] 6:866$500. "Erario regio."

[35] 5:218$500. Pizarro e Araújo, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

[36] "Erario regio."

[37] "Rellaçaõ das Freg.as Coladas que ha nesta Capitania de Minas Geraes," undated, unsigned eighteenth-century manuscript in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Papeis Avulsos.

[38] 3:427$800. "Erario regio."

[39] 20:492$300. *Ibid.*

[40] 75:000$000. See Diogo de Vasconcelos, *Historia do Bispado de Marianna* (Belo Horizonte, 1935), p. 18.

budget of Minas Gerais in the decade 1757-1766 amounted to an average of $13,455 per year, including the governor's salary of $939, nearly five times that of the bishop.[41] The expenses of the First and Second Companies of Militia—there were three in 1768, with a total of 208 soldiers—were more than those of the entire ecclesiastical establishment. The budget for the civil administration, including justice, amounted at the same time to an average of $14,255 per year.[42]

The facts presented above are sufficient to indicate that the Crown's financial obligations to the Church in Minas Gerais were not adequately discharged during the eighteenth century. The shamefully low stipends allotted to the parish priests forced them in many instances to live with their families or to resort to less decorous means in order to augment their income. Most of the complaints that were received in Lisbon on the rapacity of the clergy would probably not have been made if the ministers of the altar had been more reasonably supported by the Crown. It may also be that fewer complaints would have been lodged if the Crown had permitted the establishment of religious orders and congregations in Minas Gerais. Instead of giving the Church a larger share of the income from the tithes, as it was obliged to do, the Crown used a substantial part of the money collected from this source to take care of the general expenses of administration. Little justification can be found in logic for the niggardliness of the Crown in regard to the Church since no attempt was made, at the same time, to alleviate the burden of the tithes.

Scholars in the field of Latin-American history often speak of the accumulation of wealth by the Church during colonial times without making clear that the Church was rich only in favored areas. In Minas Gerais, as elsewhere in Portuguese America, the Church was poor; the landed properties of a number of religious orders, such as the Society of Jesus and the Order of St. Benedict, wherever these orders were allowed to exist unencumbered, were exceptional. Nevertheless, despite the financial negligence of the Crown, the Church was still able and did carry out its mission. That Minas Gerais is today, by common opinion, the most Catholic region of Brazil is certainly proof of a kind that the Church was successful.

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[41] 68:739$253 and 4:800$000, respectively. "Erario regio." This was, as we would say today, the governor's base pay. In addition he received, as emoluments from tax farmers, the sum of 6:480$000 (which was not, however, paid every year). Teixeira Coelho, *op. cit.*, p. 266 *et seq.*

[42] 70:272$102. "Erario regio."

SOME ACTON LETTERS

Edited By

PAUL KNAPLUND*

In the spring of 1890 Lord Acton was in serious financial difficulties. He faced the necessity of parting with either his ancestral home, Aldenham Park in Shropshire, or his library. The former produced an annual income of about £7,500, the latter was the apple of his eye. Over a period of forty years he had collected 59,000 volumes. The books had been chosen with great care; he loved them and spent most of his time with them. Acton's financial and legal adviser, the London solicitor W. D. Freshfield, did not favor selling Aldenham. Acton then made the painful decision to part with his books.

But when it was announced that the Acton library was to be sold, his close personal friend, the great Liberal statesman, William E. Gladstone, went into action and secured results in a surprisingly short time. Some years earlier, possibly in the summer of 1882, Gladstone had met Andrew Carnegie who already had shown his interest in libraries by giving one to his birthplace, Dunfermline in Scotland.[1] Gladstone, whose parents were Scottish and who was a passionate book lover, found that he and Carnegie had much in common. When the statesman learned that the Acton library would be sold and possibly dispersed he at once took steps to save it. First Gladstone asked Acton for a general description of the contents of his library. This was supplied in a letter from Cannes on May 23, 1890. On June 9 Gladstone gave Carnegie a memorandum concerning Acton's library. The following day the announcement appeared that the library would not be publicly sold, and by June 13 the deal was completed.[2]

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[1] On July 31, 1882, Lord Rosebery wrote to Gladstone: "that Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who is coming to dinner, is a Dunfermline man, the greatest iron master at Pittsburg, who is giving Dunfermline a library and taking the town council of Dunfermline to the U. S. on a trip to open their eyes! He is a remarkable man, a great worshipper of yours, and he means to get into Parliament." Original MS., the Gladstone Papers in the British Museum. It is not clear from the letter whether Gladstone met Carnegie at the dinner mentioned or subsequently.

[2] For details cf. F. E. Lally, *As Lord Acton Says* (Newport, Rhode Island, 1942), pp. 175-188; Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life of Andrew Carnegie* (Garden City, New York, 1932), I, 352-364.

Lord Acton never knew who bought his library of which he had full use until his death in 1902. Carnegie stipulated that the transaction should be kept strictly secret. The details were arranged by Freshfield, Gladstone, and Acton's stepfather, Lord Granville.[3] The following letters from Acton to Granville throw light on Acton's state of mind while arrangements were made concerning his beloved library and on the personal relationship between him and his stepfather.

University of Wisconsin

Cannes May 23. 1890[4]

Dear Lord Granville,

It is immensely kind of you to take the trouble you do, in consulting with Freshfield. He has written me a very excellent letter; but I am not sure that if it comes to parting with Aldenham, it will be easy to get his steam up. He is not quite willing to stand by the opinion he expressed to you last autumn.

Gladstone writes, taking the keenest interest in my library. The topic you mention has been long in his mind, combining an economic indignation with a strictly moral one. Unluckily there is a very sufficient book on that unedifying subject.[5]

I am obliged to keep a little on the lines I am used to, and whereon I have made enormous collections of extracts. Several people have asked me to write on the best books; and I have sometimes thought what an interesting theme might be made of them. Some day I should like to show you a little MS. volume of Penseés des autres, which I put together for Dick when he went up to College.[6]

You may have heard, or seen, that I was summoned too late to see Döllinger before he died.[7] I wonder whether you possess the letters he

[3] George Leveson-Gower, second Earl of Granville (1815-1891) was foreign secretary, 1851-1852, 1870-1874, 1880-1885. In 1840 he married Maria Louisa, Lady Acton, Lord Acton's mother, who died in 1860.

[4] The letters have been copied from the original manuscripts found among the Granville Papers at the Public Record Office.

[5] Concerning this topic no further information has been obtained.

[6] For two lists of best books selected by Lord Acton cf. *Some Hawarden Letters, 1878-1913,* written to Mrs. Drew (Mary Gladstone) chosen and arranged by Lisle March-Phillipps and Bertram Christian (London, 1917), pp. 187-191.

[7] Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger (1799-1890), German church historian and a close friend of Lord Acton, died on January 14, 1890.

must have written about me when I was a student? It would be very interesting to me to see them, and to ascertain whether he found out my weak points betimes. Most of his early letters to me are lost, or have not turned up.

You are so good, speaking of my writing, that I am tempted to ask you to send for the Historical Review, some day at the Athenaeum, and to look at several notices of books I have occasionally written.[8] It is to them, I suppose, that I owe my University honours, making up for the refusal to admit me, when you got Lefevre to enquire about it, in 1850.[9]

Ever Affly. yours
Acton

Dear Lord Granville,

I was sorry at first not to learn more about your reasons for coming over, though I afterwards understood why you left it to Gladstone. I had taken it for granted that, in pursuance of the interest he showed from the beginning, he had explanations to ask for, and advice to give me about making the most of the books. Yesterday, during the night before his letter came, it dawned upon me that he perhaps knew of an offer; and my thought ran in the direction of some vague college.

They run in no channel now, and are all vague, except with regard to the pertinent fact that I have the best friends that ever man possessed. You and I have always known what we thought of Gladstone's [ill.], and could hardly be surprised at any mark of his friendship, or of his active wish to serve.

In this delicate matter you must let me consult you without any reserve; though I take note at once of the fact that you concur and that both you and Freshfield view the affair in the same light, and see your way through.

[8] Reference is to Acton's reviews of M. Creighton, *A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation*, Vols. III and IV, J. R. Seeley, *A Short History of Napoleon the First*, Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, J. Franck Bright, *A History of England, 1837-1880*, and James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, in the *English Historical Review*, II, 571-581, 593-603, III, 773-788, 798-809, IV, 388-396.

[9] The honors referred to are D.C.L., Oxford, 1887; L.L.D., Cambridge, 1888, and possibly the honorary fellowship of All Souls, Oxford, 1890. Sir John Shaw-Lefevre (1797-1879) was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1819. In 1847 he was elected to Parliament from Cambridge University. The colleges referred to were Magdalen and two others.

I have been under an engagement which has kept me a good deal at Munich, and which it has not been possible to put aside at once; but I hope that the brief delay in starting will not only have no ill consequences, but will not be misunderstood by Gladstone. I return to Munich tomorrow, and hope to see you not later, at any rate, than Wednesday. I must not trespass on the hospitality of either of you. Dick will expect me for Commem. and will perhaps wish to spend a few days with me in town, by way of rejoicing if he passes his examination, and of consolation if he fails.[10]

Ever affly. Yours
Acton

Tegernsee June 13, 1890

P.S. I did not ask you to see Dick because we have discussed everything together, and he understands all about it. But thank you 1000 times for that offer, and for all.

Dear Lord Granville

Although there is little in them to be proud of, I am proud of the interest you take in my essays, and really touched by it.

I wondered whether you would recognize the allusion to yourself in one thing I said in the article on Houghton.[11] He was very good natured to me in early days, and I owed him something, but it was difficult to take him au serieux, even in his grave.

If you got through the paper on Döllinger, you will have discovered one reason why last summer, I hesitated to show how much we disagreed;[12] and it is a thing hopeless to explain to the author of Church and State.[13] The other obstacle was lack of materials. In that respect I have been fortunate, and shall have plenty. In sorting my own correspondence, lately, I found that his early letters to me are missing and I am sorry that those he wrote home about me in those days are lost. Did you ever read what I wrote on G. Eliot in the XIX C[entury] in 1885?[14] Our Librarian at the Atheneum would mark my contributions to the His-

[10] "Dick" was Richard Maximilian, second Baron Acton (1870-1924), who was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford.

[11] *The Nineteenth Century*, XXVIII (December, 1890), 993-1000. Richard Monckton Milnes, first Baron Houghton (1809-1885), had in his youth been considered a man of much promise but he disappointed his friends.

[12] Reference is doubtless to Acton's article, "Döllinger's Historical Work," in the *English Historical Review*, V (October, 1890), 700-744.

[13] An allusion to Gladstone whose first book, *The State in its Relation with the Church*, was published in 1838.

[14] This article appeared in March, 1885.

torical Review. I should like you to read the review of Lea's Inquisition, if you don't mind a hard morsel; or that of Creighton's book, in his own journal, which was a delicate matter; or the one in which I demolished the Unionist and Jingo historian Seeley; or even that on Bryce's American book.

The University Press is bringing out a Machiavelli with my Introduction. The Editor was once Dick's tutor.[15]

I really don't see how Gl[adstone] could have acted otherwise towards Parnell than he did, unless the story is true that he exacted a hypocritical declaration before receiving him at Hawardon. The Temps has been writing admirably on the subject.[16]

You suggest a point which had never occurred to me. I don't quite see how it could be managed; but I will think it carefully over. Freshfield is wonderful in his knowledge of affairs; but he has little originality or resource, and has fallen a good deal into the hands of his clerks. And certainly, looking a little forward, I cannot say that it would be desirable for my wife to find herself in his hands. But at first sight I don't see my way.

Do you remember Baudin? He called on me yesterday, and we met for the first time since Moscow.[17]

If you read the Speaker, I sometimes review a book in it. The only important one was Renan, last May.

Ever your's affectionately

Acton

Villa St. Patrick
Cannes Dec. 7, 1890

[15] Reference is to L. A. Burd's edition of *Il Principe* (Oxford, 1891).

[16] Cf. Acton's letter to W. E. Gladstone, November 21, 1890. *Lord Acton's Correspondence*, edited by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence (London, 1917), I, 256-257. He discussed the Parnell case in a letter to Mary Gladstone, December 7, 1890. *Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone* (London, 1913), pp. 189-190. For the story of the Parnell case, J. L. Hammond, *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (London, 1938), pp. 649-683.

[17] In 1856 Acton accompanied Lord Granville to Russia where Granville served as British "ambassador extraordinary" at the coronation of Emperor Alexander II. M. Baudin was then secretary at the French embassy in St. Petersburg.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

L'évêque d'ordination des religieux des débuts du monachisme à la mort de Louis le Pieux (840). Étude historico-juridique. By Paul-Henri Lafontaine. [Universitas Catholica Ottaviensis, Dissertationes. . . . Series canonica, Tomus 22.] (Ottawa: Les éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1951. Pp. 267. $4.00.)

In spite of much dividing and sub-dividing of chapters, Dr. Lafontaine has suceeeded in presenting a delightful statement of the relations that subsisted between the monasteries of early times and the bishops within whose jurisdictions they were located. In the early Middle Ages canon law was not the highly developed, systematized body of rules it is today, and monasticism, for the most part a lay movement in its beginnings, confused the councils and synods that tried to legislate order in the Church as a whole and locally under extremely difficult external conditions. As pastors responsible for the cure of souls in their jurisdictions, bishops sought to extend their authority over the monks both in the East and in the West. In the East, furthermore, the monks often wandered from place to place and some of them were surely not dependable persons. In the West the Irish monks also wandered, and some of them were not mindful of the impression their insular views and conduct left on souls accustomed to the organizational traditions and usages of the continental Church. Gregory the Great introduced some order, but very soon the development of a land-based feudal society heightened the confusion. Bishops as well as monasteries took on the character of temporal rulers in their more or less extensive domains. The things of God were not always clearly distinguished from the things of the world, a state of affairs that despite the efforts of the great Carolingians was to become worse before it became better. Dr. Lafontaine, however, stops short of those times, ending his story with the death of Louis the Pious in 840.

This study, directly concerned only with the claims of bishops to ordain monks either for service in the monasteries or in the churches in their charge or in the missions, portrays well what often was of the essence of the controversies between bishops with fixed sees and the monks. Writing for scholars, the author may be pardoned for not always referring more fully to what we may call the historical enframement of his theme. To our mind this is a fault altogether too common in the writing of church history. The Church never worked in a vacuum, all by itself; its history

cannot be told adequately outside its milieu. The study also seems too heavily weighted on the side of the more Latin parts of the Merovingian-Carolingian Empire, more particularly those which presently evolved into France.

Unhappily the bibliography is not well ordered. Some important titles are not listed. There are inconsistencies in citation, e.g., whereas the names of English authors are given in their English forms those of non-French continental writers are quite regularly rendered in French. In so doing Dr. Lafontaine inconsistently followed a French usage for which there is no sound bibliographical justification. Furthermore, why point a finger at Dudden's *Gregory the Great* as being "non catholique" and not at Bury's *Life of St. Patrick* and Helen Bitterman's articles?

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN

State College, Pennsylvania

Festgabe fuer Prof. Dr. Johannes Dindinger, O.M.I. [*Missionswissenschaftliche Studien.*] Edited by Johannes Rommerskirchen, O.M.I., and Nikolaus Kowalsky, O.M.I. (Aachen: Verlagsanstalt Wilhelm Metz. 1951. Pp. 440. DM 24 & 28.)

This volume, one in the series of Missionswissenschaftliche Studien, was compiled by twenty-six writers under the editorship of Fathers Rommerskirchen and Kowalsky to commemorate the seventieth birthday of the Reverend Dr. Johannes Dindinger, O.M.I. He is deserving of such recognition because most of his priestly life has been tied up with the study and the practical application of missiology. As the collaborator and successor of Father Robert Streit, he is the editor of the monumental *Bibliotheca Missionum*, now in its fifteenth volume and not yet completed. These volumes were conceived as depositories of source material for the history of the Church's missions. When their printing is completed (most of the material has been collected) they will be the source for an authentic history of the missions. As an offshoot of this fundamental work, Father Dindinger wrote many missiological articles of importance enumerated in this volume. He was appointed the director of the mission library at the headquarters of Propaganda, and was called by Pius XI to become the professor of mission history in Propaganda's Institute of Missiology. He continued in this latter position until failing health compelled him to abandon it for more intensive application to the compilation of *Bibliotheca Missionum*. Father Dindinger is, indeed, worthy of this tribute to his zeal in matters of the missions while he is still able to appreciate such a token of reverence and gratitude.

After a sketch of Father Dindinger's life in one chapter and tributes by high standing personages, particularly Pius XII, this volume contains twenty-five articles written by missiological friends. That this appreciation was universal can be deducted from the fact that the articles were written in seven languages—German (10), Italian (5), French (4), Spanish (4), Dutch (1), English (1), Latin (1). They are sketches of practical missiology from all parts of the world concerning matters pertaining to the respective regions since 1522. They are authoritative expressions of matters that are of particular interest and experience to the respective writers. Most of them return again and again to the thought that a mission district must not be considered a permanent structure, but must be the foundation for a firm church establishment that adapts itself to the individual country, not, indeed, in doctrine but in practical accommodation. They refer especially to the exhortations of the recent Sovereign Pontiffs concerning the establishment of a native clergy. There is a lack of space to review each article, but the missiologist is referred to all of them as valuable sources of information, even though he must spend time to locate some particular matter that is not specifically mentioned in the table of contents because this volume contains no index.

THEODORE ROEMER

St. Lawrence College
Mount Calvary, Wisconsin

Father Luigi Gentile and His Mission, 1801-1848. By Denis Gwynn, Research Professor of Modern Irish History in University College, Cork. (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, Ltd. 1951. Pp. 271. 16/-.)

This is an interesting and informative study of one of the most attractive figures of the Second Spring, and the first book on him in English since 1851. Professor Gwynn has written almost a dozen books on English and Irish Catholics of the last century, and he supplies the background necessary for a proper understanding of Father Gentile's role. As the story of Gentile's labors unfolds it is evident that only a man of the deepest spirituality could have done so much in so many fields without merely dissipating his energies in superficial activities. It is a special merit of the book that it shows us the source of that spirituality, and the difficult material it had to work on. Gentile's spiritual qualities were matched by exceptional intellectual gifts and by a temperament that made compromise or even moderation almost impossible. It required really heroic efforts to bring such a nature under control, and he did so by a special practice of obedience.

Unlike Dominic Barberi, with whom he is bound to be compared, Gentile knew English well when he arrived in England in 1835, and he had al-

ready met many important English Catholics. He had known many of them socially in Rome where he was a promising young lawyer with an unusual knowledge of languages. His career at the bar was abandoned when her guardians, including Bishop Peter A. Baines, rejected him as the suitor for a young English Catholic girl. His health prevented his becoming a Jesuit, and after a stay at the Irish College he finally joined Rosmini's newly founded Institute of Charity which he later introduced into England. When that foundation was decided on he was the natural choice, and an invitation from the redoubtable Bishop Baines provided the necessary opening.

From 1835 until his death in 1848 Gentile literally wore himself out, engaging in every type of priestly labor, and winning sincere admiration even from the Catholics who disapproved strongly of his methods. Many of them thought that, though this ardent Italian apostle and orator knew English and some of the English, he did not really understand England. They were alarmed by what they regarded as provocative innovations, which, though time has made them seem harmless enough, were the cause of much commotion then. Among the practices we owe to him are the use of the Roman collar, public processions in honor of Our Lady, the making of the Stations of the Cross in public, and the public exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. With the Passionists, Gentile introduced public missions and retreats. At the same time he wrote long reports to the Roman authorities, at their request, on the position of the English Catholics. He knew practically everyone, and was esteemed by all. One of the best things in the book is a letter from Bishop Ullathorne in which Gentile's work is praised, but the things that needed curbing are pointed out with the tact, charity, and force that were characteristic of the writer. Equally creditable was the way in which this proved and sensitive missionary received and accepted the advice. Gentile died of cholera in Dublin in 1848, the victim of the charity and zeal that overcame all obstacles, even those he put in his own way. He is buried in Glasnevin.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN

Cathedral College
New York

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Andrés Pérez de Ribas—Pioneer Black Robe of the West Coast, Administrator, Historian. By Peter Masten Dunne, S.J. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1951. Pp. x, 178.)

Biographical monographs of this kind are indispensable aids to the writing of sound and acceptable general histories; and if, as obtains in the present monograph, the historian does not turn hagiographer, the re-

sult of the serious study and research that the author puts into his monograph must be classed among the real and valuable contributions to history. Father Dunne has performed a service to history that has made us his debtors. It enlightens us not merely on Pérez de Ribas but also on certain important matters that occurred during his lifetime.

The subject of this biography was one of the pioneer Jesuit missionaries on the west coast of Mexico. After laboring here for sixteen years (1604-1620), his health gave way and he was recalled to the city of Mexico, where until his death in 1655 he discharged the highest offices in the Jesuit Province of New Spain and wrote four works of historical interest that eventually found their way into print. In a way the missionary career of Ribas is overshadowed by his later activities as rector at Tepotzotlan, president for three terms of the Colegio Maximo, superior of the Casa Profesa, provincial of the Jesuit province, and finally procurator of the province. It was during his administrative career that Ribas became, as Father Dunne says, "variously and even intimately connected" (p. 151) with the so-called "Palafox Affair." When discussing this controversy in general (pp. 145-151), the author commendably tries to be fair to both sides. "The Mexican Jesuits," he tells us, "had made some grave mistakes in the Palafox affair" (p. 158) and the publication of Ribas' *Corónica* was prevented by the Jesuit superiors themselves because "the whole truth [concerning the Palafox controversy] does not appear in Ribas' narrative" (p. 156). Father Dunne is equally judicious in estimating the other historical works of Ribas, notably the *Historia de los triumphos de nuestra santa Fee,* which was published in Madrid in 1645. Recognizing "the scientific and scholarly value" of this work, Father Dunne thinks "the narrative reflects the faults of its age," that its author "was a child of his age" and that "As he accepted too easily the intervention of the Good through miracles, so did he attribute too easily alleged fantastic or destructive happenings to the spirit of evil" (p. 128-129).

The reviewer does not hesitate to recommend this monograph to students of Mexican history and he hopes Father Dunne will continue to cultivate his chosen field of Jesuit history in early Mexico.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK

Quincy College

Observations in Lower California. By Johann Jakob Baegert, S.J. Translated from the original German with an introduction and notes by M. M. Brandenburg and Carl L. Baumann. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1952. Pp. xx, 218. $5.00.)

Students of lower California history familiar with Venegas and Clavijero will welcome Baegert's *Observations,* for while the former cover a

more general field the latter has the advantage of eye-witness testimony for the area the missionary knew best. After seventeen years of labor at Mission San Luis Gonzaga, Baegert was expelled with his Jesuit confrères in 1768. Once again in his native Germany, he published his *Nachrichten* in 1771.

This book is divided into three parts: the physiography, Indian ethnology, and Jesuit mission effort of the peninsula, with appendices defending the missionaries against charges of maladministration and unproductivity. It is a veritable encyclopedia of facts and experiences in a rugged, sterile, almost treeless land and among its uninspirational inhabitants, who were marginal peoples. The discouraging conquest is devoid of any romantic glow. Baegert is factual, literal, mathematical, realistic, if somewhat pessimistic. His sense of humor and an occasional shaft of sarcasm appear at times in relief. Only a man of keen observation could have written it. Baegert communicates the feeling of the time, place, and people of which he wrote.

Until 1942 students had to be content with the German text; then a Spanish translation appeared from the pen of Pedro Hendrichs in Mexico under the title of *Noticias de la Peninsula Americana de California.* The first English translation by Brandenburg and Baumann is a long desired contribution to the field of Californiana. Struggling with an obsolete German and Baegert's stylistic peculiarities, the translators succeeded in what they set out to do, to give us "a good, readable English text." The reviewer has found it smoothly translated; for this they deserve high commendation. There are nine illustrations of excellent quality, chiefly on the missions, a map, and an adequate, analytical index.

MAYNARD GEIGER

Old Mission
Santa Barbara, California

Elizabeth Bayley Seton, 1774-1821. By Annabelle M. Melville. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. xiii, 411. $4.00.)

Elizabeth Bayley Seton will long stand as a monument to the New York convert who contributed much to help the struggling Church in the young American Republic. It will also stand as a monument to the training, ability, and industry of the author.

This biography is the full story of the life of Elizabeth Seton rather than of Mother Seton. That is to say, we see the life of the foundress of the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph in its entirety rather than with exclusive emphasis on her religious foundation. It is seldom in a book not

entitled "The Life and Times of . . ." that one is treated to so complete a background of events, even of details, as in this study. One sees the early years of our Republic and especially of New York City. Political, social, and religious conditions are recounted to show the milieu in which Elizabeth Bayley was born and reared. One sees old New York with its business and its social life, its religion and its bigotry, its medical institutions, and its unsanitary conditions. The impact of Napoleon and his wars are background also for this servant of God. Of 299 pages of text, 125 pages are devoted to Elizabeth Seton's life prior to her arrival at Paca Street in Baltimore. Such an emphasis on these years of youth, marriage, widowhood, and travel helps to explain Elizabeth Seton's later problems and troubles, particularly her family ones. Indeed, to a certain extent, this book is also an account of her family.

The one unsatisfactory part of the work is the treatment of Mother Seton's year in Baltimore (1808) and of the establishment of her community in Emmitsburg (1809). Mrs. Melville devotes only nine pages (pp. 140-148) to what is called in the index, "the evolution of the sisters." In view of the importance of Mother Seton as a religious foundress and in view, too, of the space given to her early life, this is strange. The year 1808-1809 was an important one in Mother Seton's life. Between June 15, 1808, and June 21, 1809, she came to Baltimore, began her nascent community, and moved it to Emmitsburg. Yet, not only is Mrs. Melville's treatment of this year and its important events summary, it really fails to give a clear picture of the foundation of the community. Secondly, the question of a rule is approached in somewhat the same way. The French rule of St. Vincent de Paul, as brought to Emmitsburg by Bishop Benedict Flaget, S.S., is introduced before the provisional rules are mentioned (pp. 160, 166). These latter are mentioned as thirteen in number (p. 165) and it is stated that "these rules are to be found at Emmitsburg . . . but their origin remains obscure" (p. 349). One wishes that these rules had been given, even in an appendix, since they would have revealed Mother Seton's ideas about the religious life. Further, it would be interesting to see an American, rather than a European, approach to such a foundation.

The rest of Mother Seton's life is amply treated. Several small points may be noted. Archbishop Maréchal is introduced simply as Maréchal (p. 165). One wishes Mrs. Melville had used titles, such as "Father" or "Bishop" for the numerous ecclesiastics who crowd her pages; to many a lay reader such omissions will cause confusion. In the index all the Sulpicians are given S.S. except the Reverend William V. Dubourg (p. 397). "The Three American Graces" are called grandnieces of Archbishop Carroll (p. 134). Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the grandfather of "The Graces," was the great-grandson of Daniel Carroll of Ireland.

John, the archbishop, was the grandson of Keane Carroll of Ireland. No sure evidence exists for any relationship of the two Irishmen. In America, the two families were connected only through Darnall marriages.

Special praise should be given to Mrs. Melville for her clear statements about the relationship between St. Mary's Seminary and Mount Saint Mary's College. She deserves equal praise for her clear handling of the relationship between the Sisters of Charity and the Sulpicians, both as a community and as individuals. This latter question is not an easy one. For not only as a community did the Sulpicians have an official position with the Emmitsburg establishment, but individual Sulpicians, such as Fathers Nagot and Babade, and Bishops Dubourg, Dubois, David, Flaget, Bruté, and Maréchal, were much involved in the early foundation and direction of the new sisterhood.

The dust-cover of the book states: "In this book for the first time is presented an unsentimentalized, definitive biography, based on the strictest historical research and incorporating much new material." Save for the exceptions noted, the reviewer agrees heartily with this statement. Eighty-one pages of notes are sufficient testimony of intensive work and most of these eighty-one pages are references to letters. Through this voluminous correspondence Mother Seton appears to us for what she was, a valiant servant of God. While the correspondence reveals the high-minded soul of Mother Seton, the frequent use of it does tend to obstruct the smooth flow of the narrative. Mother Seton's letters show the many and varied problems she faced in founding a religious community, and in caring for a family to whom she was deeply devoted.

As Bishop John M. McNamara writes in the foreword, this volume "is the fruit of much study and labor and merits the recognition which undoubtedly it will receive from the historian and reading public alike as an outstanding biography of a great servant of God."

JOHN J. TIERNEY

St. Charles College
Catonsville

On Good Ground: The Story of the Sisters of St. Joseph in St. Paul. By Sister Helen Angela Hurley. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 312. $3.75.)

In this volume the author has traced the growth of the Sisters of St. Joseph in the upper Midwest during the past one hundred years. A major objective of Sister Helen Angela has been to present the record "for the pleasure of the general reader." She has described the manifold endeavors undertaken by her predecessors in a very buoyant fashion. The reader cannot fail to gain a deeper appreciation for the important part

which the various religious sisterhoods have had in the flowering of Catholicism on the American frontier. At the same time the writer has not made her analysis in a framework which isolates the activities of the Sisters of St. Joseph from contact with contemporary developments. She has rather shown how her community has been affected by the course of events in early Minnesota and North Dakota. She has woven into her story much of the colorful regional history of the area in which the sisters have worked since pioneer days.

Since members of the Ireland family, Mother Seraphine, Sister St. John, and their cousin, Sister Celestine Howard, were so intimately associated with the progress of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Archbishop John Ireland took a special interest in their activities. He virtually molded the spirit of this religious institute. He became the cherished friend, counselor, and adviser of the sisters. He wanted them "to forward his plans to make Catholic schools adhere to the same standards in secular branches and American citizenship as prevailed for the public schools." In all the projects which they undertook, whether in the supervision of schools, hospitals, orphanages, or the College of St. Catherine, the Archbishop of St. Paul inspired the community to make their institutions comparable to the best secular models. This was one means which the vigorous prelate of the upper Midwest employed "to reveal the church to America and America to the church," and to develop a Catholicism which was integrated with American democracy.

Sister Helen Angela has presented both the lights and the shadows in the careers of the leading personalities which she evaluates. The aggressive policies of Archbishop Ireland and the human foibles of Sister Antonia McHugh, the spirited president of the College of St. Catherine, receive attention. Yet some pages of the narrative indicate the writer's crusading ardor for the promotion of social justice, the liturgy, and vocations. She might have permitted the material to rest on its own merits at these junctures without introducing personal reflections. Even though the author may not have produced the definitive account of the work and achievements of the Sisters of St. Joseph, she does offer an interpretation that will capture the interest of both Catholic and non-Catholic readers.

VINCENT G. TEGEDER

St. John's University
Collegeville

The Society of Mary in Texas. By Joseph William Schmitz, S.M. (San Antonio: Naylor Co. 1951. Pp. x, 261. $3.75.)

In ten chapters that maintain his reputation for skillful writing Brother Schmitz reviews the substantial achievements to which the Texas person-

nel of his society may point with centennial satisfaction. Having entered San Antonio at the invitation of Bishop Odin in 1852, the Marianists are rounding out a hundred years of uninterrupted service to education in the Lone Star State. Approximately the volume opens with a chapter summarizing the French beginnings of the society, established in 1817 at Bordeaux by William Joseph Chaminade. In Chapters II-V the story of its early Texas career unfolds.

This segment of the survey the author has accomplished with real competence. Prepared ten years ago for publication in *Mid-America* (cf. Vol. XXV, No. 1), Chapter II retains, as adapted for inclusion in the present memorial, all its original freshness. From a rich vein of primary data the initial institute under Brother Andrew Edel, first superior, is feelingly restored. Chapters III and IV proceed to assess the contribution of Brother Charles Francis, second superior, as a builder and an educator. The several decades that are co-extensive with the management of these leaders understandably spurred the historian to do his best work. It is regrettable that his plan permitted him to discuss in the light of detailed research only one other administration, that of Father Francis Feith (1882-1893). The remaining chapters acquaint the reader with the ever-expanding work of the society in Texas, especially in the vicinity of San Antonio. The natural climax of development is St. Mary's University, which is presented sheerly from an institutional standpoint, its officers and faculty having insisted with laudable modesty on a post-mortem appraisal.

A distinctive feature of the first half of the book is the balanced view it provides of pioneer trials. Credits for early labors and sacrifices are correctly distributed. Bishops Odin and Dubois, who exerted themselves and practiced self-denial to stabilize the infant society, are dutifully thanked. Brother Schmitz' example in this respect may be followed with propriety by annalists of religious institutes who focus so narrowly the hardships and financial strain of their founding superiors as to ignore those of diocesan officials. Interestingly, in this instance, a ready appreciation of early episcopal generosity reaps an exceptional reward. It gives a searing incisiveness to the restraint shown by Brother Schmitz when presenting his confrères' long and fruitful, but unconscionably under-salaried, tenure of San Fernando Cathedral School in later years.

Two documentary appendices, an adequate bibliography, and a good index lend additional value to this pleasingly printed book. Not all readers, perhaps, will approve the style in which the half dozen illustrations are reproduced. Expecting last-century men and buildings to look last-century,

some may consider incongruous a rather idealized and flamboyant rejuvenation of old faces and façades.

RALPH F. BAYARD

Kenrick Seminary

Hibernian Crusade. The Story of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America. By Sister Joan Bland, S.N.D. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 297. $3.00.)

Sister Joan of Trinity College, Washington, sets out to survey the history of the CTAU of A from its beginning through 1918. The first three chapters of the work very properly introduce the American problem of intemperance, early attempts to solve the problem, and the origins of the national union. The core of the work is centered on institutional events that revolve around the union, but the author does not neglect important happenings in strictly state, diocesan, and local organizations up to the turn of the century. Though there are minor lapses at times, the chapters generally display a good literary style. For instance, Chapter V, which is entitled "The Conciliar Decrees, 1881-1886," combines many well-selected details, a fine understanding of the relation of CTAU objectives, and the relation of that society to the Church; and withal it is written with literary taste, and at times, brilliant phraseology. Despite the fact that Church historians may be disposed to quarrel with the author's rather shallow appreciation of such terms as "liberal" and "conservative" when applied to members of the hierarchy, one is inclined to view the total job as a very difficult task well done.

Hibernian Crusade successfully combines the use of almost every type of source material. Of prime importance, of course, were the printed records of the CTAU of A itself. Deeper understanding of the entire movement, however, was added by a thorough searching of the newspapers of the period, including the official newspapers of the union and the Catholic papers in general. The author evidently combed the published monographs for informative sidelights on her subject, and lastly, she used many archival sources. In the latter category the official manuscript deposits of the national union were utilized when necessary. The volume is conveniently indexed and, of course, contains a general bibliography which should be helpful to those interested in the subject of temperance.

On the level of interpretation, however, there will probably be many differences of opinion about some of the evident assumptions found in this book. For example, the real Catholic prohibitionist does not appear as a distinct and important factor in the general movement for Catholic

temperance and total abstinence. The positions of two leading Catholic prohibitionists are at least partially neglected: thus John Lancaster Spalding, the renowned Bishop of Peoria, is classed among the "friends of the movement" (p. 124), but his position on prohibition itself (pp. 119, 134) is not developed fully. Again the very American and Catholic Martin I. J. Griffin, a pioneer in the general movement, does not emerge in his truly precursory role which favored complete state control of the liquor problem. Had the views of such men been more forcefully emphasized, perhaps, the conclusion that the union "to an unusual degree... accepted the point of view of respectable, Protestant America" (p. 267) would have been demonstrated more convincingly. The fundamental point that "the movement was primarily religious and loyally Catholic" (p. 267), though it may seem paradoxical to the previous conclusion, was amply demonstrated and probably will not be contradicted by further investigation.

JAMES J. GREEN

University of Notre Dame

Our Bishops Speak. Edited by Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv., Associated Professor of Church History in the Catholic University of America. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1952. Pp. xxxiii, 402. $6.00.)

The invention of wire and tape sound-recorders has provided our age with a valuable means of preserving the sound of esteemed voices and important events of our time. This new medium would be of vastly richer value were it able to reach back in time and pick out of the air and record the sound of voices now stilled. In a sense, that is the achievement of the present volume. Using merely the long-familiar medium of print, it has, nonetheless, gathered together a richly valuable "recording" of the collective voice of the American hierarchy uttering its joint statements in the years since World War I. Printed separately before now, these varied statements of the American bishops have not been "heard" with the attention merited by their authority and their penetration. This volume now makes the joint voice of the hierarchy unmistakably clear.

Actually, this handily arranged collection of collective episcopal statements is a companion volume to an earlier work, *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1791-1919* (Washington, 1923), edited by the late Monsignor Peter Guilday. This new work is the product of the careful efforts of Father Raphael Huber, O.F.M.Conv., and it owes its inception to the late Archbishop of Cincinnati, the Most Reverend John T.

McNicholas, O.P. Thanks to the zeal of these two churchmen, this volume now makes available in handy form the text of the joint statements of the American bishops issued at their annual meetings in Washington, and also the declarations of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, which on occasion speaks for the hierarchy. In addition, it furnishes the text of resolutions of episcopal committees and of letters sent in the name of the hierarchy to individuals. All of these statements together constitute a valuable historical "recording" of the joint attitudes and activities of the American hierarchy in these last thirty eventful years of our history. The list of subjects treated by the bishops reads like a chronological summary of the main events of our times.

The editor has supplied some very useful material on that agency so important in the life of the American Church during the last thirty-five years—the N.C.W.C. The personnel of the Administrative Board of this co-ordinating agency, for each of the years 1918-1950, is listed at the end of the work. In addition, the editor has identified by footnote reference the printed source in which each episcopal statement originally appeared. The format of the book is excellent with attractive print, handsome binding, captions, and intra-textual topical headings clearly indicated, and all printed on paper of a high quality. The table of contents provides a splendid four-page view of the range of topics treated by the American hierarchy, while the index furnishes a detailed topical guide to the subject matter of the various statements. The foreword of the editor supplies detailed biographical data on some of the prelates prominently associated with the N.C.W.C.

One could scarcely desire anything more in such a work. This is no mere collection of episcopal statements, but one efficiently designed for integration in the historical context in which the utterances were originally made, although it makes no effort to summarize the historical background for the individual pronouncements. It is a most valuable source of material on the collective leadership exercised in our times by the American episcopacy. The perceptive commentary on our age and the realistic quality of moral guidance furnished by these authoritative statements reflect lasting glory upon the episcopacy which issued them. The editor has rendered a most notable service to historical scholarship and to American Catholic life by making these pronouncements available in such readily usable form. Certainly no historian of the American Church and no educated Catholic can afford to be ignorant of what is said when *Our Bishops Speak*.

FERGUS MACDONALD

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GENERAL HISTORY

Catholic Social Principles. By John F. Cronin, S.S. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1950. Pp. xxviii, 803. $6.00.)

Not many books in the field of Catholic socio-economics can match this work of Father Cronin in integrity, thoroughness, clarity, and usefulness. Priests and laymen have been waiting for a one-volume résumé of Catholic social principles for a long time. Now they have it. The work is divided into three parts. "The Christian Social Order" (Part I) contrasts the right and wrong approaches to economic life and vindicates the Church's right to draw up a moral blueprint for such a social order. "The Social Principles in Economic Life" (Part II) deals with the rights and duties of capital, labor, consumers, government, and the Church. Profits, prices, ownership, child labor, living wage, unemployment, collective bargaining, social legislation, the welfare state, Catholic Action, are all adequately treated. "American Catholic Social Thought" (Part III) includes a brief treatise on official statements of the American hierarchy, the social theories of Monsignor John A. Ryan, distributism and the co-operative movement, Catholic rural philosophy, personalism, monetary reform, and social action. Each chapter is introduced by brief quotations from the writings of Popes and bishops. This collection of documentary excerpts in one volume is an invaluable aid to teachers and scholars. The bibliography is extensive, embracing works of many nations and tongues.

While Father Cronin correctly observes that "no scholar or group of scholars should arrogate the right to identify a detailed application of papal principles with *Quadragesimo Anno*" (p. 226) he, nonetheless, asserts without equivocation that "no Catholic who has examined the entirety of papal social literature from 1890 to the present date could hold that the bulk of these documents were other than binding teaching directed for world-wide use" (p. 57). This judgment serves to answer those Americans who question the binding character of the encyclicals or who childishly contend that they have no application to the American scene.

The treatment of the industry council system, although not creative, is good, particularly when the author distinguishes between the function and structure of these councils. The extent to which our economic system would be controlled by the decisions of the vocational groups is obviously a major question and Father Cronin does not overlook the danger to economic freedom implicit in some Catholic proposals. The make-up and structure of these boards is likewise uncertain in advance, although I am surprised that the perennial dispute between Bishop Francis J. Haas and Wilfred Parsons, S.J., over the tri-partite nature of these boards receives

no attention. As I remember the dispute, Bishop Haas favors government participation on the boards after the manner of our World War II experience, while Father Parsons would restrict government participation to establishing the legal framework within which the industry councils could control the economic systems, membership on the boards belonging to business, labor, and farm representatives exclusively.

The author, it seems to me, leaves the unfortunate impression that the ideal social order, when and if it ever comes into being, will be capitalism with changes. I am sure that Father Cronin does not believe that. However, he does not properly emphasize that the spirit of historic capitalism will have to be supplanted by a justice, charity, unselfishness, and religiosity that have not been characteristic of its operation up until now. The chapter on the "Ideal Social Order" might well have contained more comment on the necessary reform of morals and, indeed, something on "personalism" and the spirit of the personalists. Father Cronin considers personalism a specialized approach to social reconstruction and relegates his treatment of it to the end of the book. If an ideal social order is ever attained it will be created, it seems to me, as much by the personalists as by legislators and trade union leaders.

Without for a moment denying that the first part of this work is well done, this reviewer makes bold to suggest that the unsatisfactory treatment of the ideal social order flows from a somewhat unsatisfactory treatment of capitalism. Father Cronin rightly emphasized the great economic benefits of capitalism, mass production, and free enterprise against European Catholic critics who sometimes wrongly eschew capitalism with the violence that they condemn communism. However, in Father Cronin's desire to be "neutral" between the extremists of the right and the left, he de-emphasizes aspects of capitalism which cannot be ignored and about which Catholics may not be neutral. The essential aspects of capitalism, according to the author, are: private ownership, free enterprise, the profit motive, and the use of invested funds. If this is the whole case, there is nothing to criticize. But European scholars lay great stress on the materialistic spirit of capitalism, particularly Weber, Fanfani, and Tawney. Even the Protestant World Council of Churches as late as 1948 criticized capitalism for subordinating human needs to economic gains. This aspect of capitalism deserved more discussion from Father Cronin who, by the way, labels economic individualism an unsound philosophy (pp. 146-157) without ever once in eleven pages tying up individualism with capitalism.

The best part of the book is that which deals with the social principles of economic life. The rights to profit and interest, to unionize, earn a living wage, and strike, to own and to manage, are fully and competently treated. The author might have made more use of Chamberlain's masterly

treatment of management rights and could have extended his discussion of the morality of boycotts, picketing, political strikes, economic strikes against the government, union contracts, minority rights within a union, etc. However, if I would criticize this section at all it would be on the ground that the author does not prepare adequately for it. I think his earlier treatment of rights could be amplified and rendered less abstract. Furthermore, I believe that some time should be spent in explaining the origin of right, viz., the natural law. A whole title on natural law is called for. Nor do I think that Father Cronin tackles the thorny relationship between modern corporative ownership and the traditional Catholic concept of ownership.

The third part of the book dealing with American Catholic social thought is comprehensive, although I do not think that such matter belongs in a work on Catholic social principles. I might further add that I think the author is too easy on Father Edward A. Keller, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame. No one, however, not even a reviewer, has the right to criticize an author's choice of topics or his frame of reference. Every author writes out of his own experience and to fulfill a need as he sees it. Father Cronin has a lot of experience and has contributed a book to American Catholic social thought that is priceless. Whatever criticisms or suggestions have been offered here are minor, and do not detract from the fact that up to this publication no Catholic in the United States possessed a handy and complete compendium of Catholic social principles.

GEORGE A. KELLY

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An Introduction to Philosophy of History. By W. H. Walsh. [Hutchinson's University Library.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc. 1951. Pp. 173. $2.00.)

The Spirit of Politics and the Future of Freedom. By Ross J. S. Hoffman. [Gabriel Richard Lecture.] (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1951. Pp. xi, 98. $2.50.)

Seldom does a book offer so precisely as Mr. Walsh's just what its title gives us the right to expect. He advances no theory of his own; he simply introduces us to what is meant by philosophy of history and to the problems it involves. In so doing he has furnished us with an excellent introduction to the subject. The presentation is clear, concise, and objective without ever becoming impersonal. The author does not shirk the task of surveying critically the opinions of those who have philosophized about history.

We are reminded at the outset of the ambiguity in the word "history" itself, covering as it does: a) the totality of past human actions (*res gestae*) and, b) the narrative or account we construct of them now (*historia rerum gestarum*). This ambiguity opens up two possible fields for the philosophy of history that are not always sufficiently distinguished. That study might be concerned with the actual course of human events or it might, on the other hand, occupy itself with the processes of historical thinking, the means whereby history in the second sense is arrived at. This latter is in reality a critical discipline closely related to epistemology, whereas philosophy of history in the former sense is speculative and has more to do with metaphysics.

Mr. Walsh devotes two-thirds of his book to philosophy of history of the critical sort. He treats therein of the relationship of historical thinking to the other sciences, of fact and truth, of causation and explanation, and of the possibility of objectivity in history. The views of R. G. Collingwood, in particular, are discussed at length as offering a standard idealist account of historical knowledge, but those of Croce and Dilthey, from which Collingwood departed slightly, are not neglected. The positivist school is likewise dealt with and all are subjected to a penetrating criticism.

British philosophers have tended to reject a speculative philosophy of history as a series of nonsense statements. If Mr. Walsh devotes relatively little space to this subject, it is not because he shares their opinion, but rather in an attempt to prove that, whatever one's views on this subject, philosophers of all schools should be willing to allow that philosophy of history in the other sense at least is a genuine inquiry. He himself goes on in the second part of the book to resume, criticize, and evaluate the theories of Kant, Herder, Hegel, Comte, Marx, and Arnold Toynbee. Older writers like St. Augustine, Bossuet, and Vico are little more than mentioned.

Professor Hoffman's lecture is not precisely philosophy of history but, as one might surmise from the authorship, it does bring in a certain interpretation of history. The American people seems in danger of succumbing at the hands of its own government in the twentieth century to a type of political servitude not unlike that against which they revolted in the eighteenth. Dr. Hoffman traces with brilliant and incisive strokes the steps whereby the relationship between politics and freedom has been altered in the intervening period. Various influences have been at work, none more baneful than secularist liberalism and pragmatism. The master problem of our time has come to be: how to make civil power the servant instead of the enemy of freedom? The author is still optimistic about the future. For him, the American Constitution is a strong safeguard. However, there is as never before grave need of a philosophy of state and

society over and above the law of experience which has hitherto been followed, a philosophy founded on the will of God which will lead politics to respect those fundamental notions of the true nature of man, Providence, and the moral law which form the basis of the original Constitution. The lecture is of more than national interest; the principles enunciated go likewise to the heart of the problem of international peace.

GEORGE B. FLAHIFF

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City-State and World State in Greek and Roman Political Theory until Augustus. By Mason Hammond. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. 217. $4.00.)

These essays are revisions of the Lowell Lectures of 1948 with excellent notes, selected bibliography, and index. The eleven chapters of the book, in the author's words, have "the limited objective of presenting the development during the Greco-Roman period of the theory of the city-state. They will deal only secondarily with the historical evaluation of the world state." The concept of a world state, although frequently referred to, receives little attention. The author is rather concerned to point out that Greek and Roman thinkers were unable "to escape from a dominant concept (the city-state with a mixed constitution) and to find a theoretical basis for the world state." He concludes that too great respect for tradition is fatal to any society. The subject is ably presented. Especially in dealing with Cicero and his thought Mr. Hammond presents, for the general reader, an excellent treatment of the subject.

A brief criticism of the work can hardly be fair to the author's thesis since there are many fruitful approaches. But one point which frequently comes to mind, and which Mr. Hammond never mentions is this: how could the ancients have broadened the political base in antiquity (those who ruled and were ruled in turn) without some technical means of creating a united public opinion on the same issues over a wide area? Many who have dealt with this problem have concluded that until the modern means of creating this united public opinion over a wide area were available, democratic states must necessarily be small states. Aristocracies which failed to represent public opinion over the area would necessarily give, it seems, poor government. So we have left some form of monarchy, the existence of which in the Hellenistic and Roman empires the author takes as an indication of failure to adapt other forms to wide areas. The possibility of adapting other types of government to such areas thus remains

without discussion here. The author indicates that he realizes this when he states he is not writing a history of the period.

THOMAS A. BRADY

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Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques latins: II. *Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des departements français antérieurs au XVII^e^ siècle.* Described by James Corbett. (Bruxelles: Union Académique Internationale: Secrétariat Administratif de L'U.A.I. Palais des Académies. 1951. Pp. 200.)

The publication of the second volume of Dr. Corbett's *Catalogue of Latin Alchemical Manuscripts* by the Union Académique Internationale, with the co-operation of UNESCO and under the auspices of a distinguished panel of editors is, indeed, an event of more than passing importance. To the present reviewer the appearance of this volume is of particular interest as testifying to the continued concern with manuscript sources of the history of alchemy, a study of which should shed light on the status of chemical knowledge and on laboratory procedure and apparatus during the thirteenth century and afterward. This second volume by Dr. Corbett follows the plan of the first and maintains the same high standard of meticulous scholarship exhibited by the earlier volumes completed under the same auspices. It completes the survey of the alchemical manuscripts anterior to the seventeenth century found in French public libraries, namely, those of Paris in Volume I (Bruxelles, 1939), and those of the French departments in the present volume. In both volumes, despite the term Latin in the title, alchemical texts in French and in other vernaculars are included.

As against ninety-seven manuscripts described for the libraries of Paris, only fifty manuscripts belonging to department libraries are described, the largest group from a single depository belonging to the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Montpellier, which has fourteen of the fifty manuscripts. The present volume adds few new alchemical writings to those already known. The chief value of this collection derives from the additional instances that it provides of already familiar alchemical treatises. Dr. Corbett has been careful for the most part to indicate bibliographical references to similar texts noted in earlier catalogues including his own.

Although the author has in addition to references in catalogues generally noted parallel texts, identifiable by their *incipits,* in Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin,* he has

omitted several corresponding references which might increase the usefulness of the present volume. In not a few instances these correspondences have been made clear as the result of some further study of continental manuscripts by the present reviewer. For economy of space the abbreviations employed by Dr. Corbett and by the *Catalogue of Incipits* (TK) have been used.

At p. 19: item 5, fol. 139v, is identical with TK 696. At p. 20, it should be noted that manuscripts are numerous. Several others could be added to the list there given.

At p. 21: item 7, fol. 2, appears identical with TK 215; and fol. 41, with TK 358, where the work is ascribed to Arnald of Villanova.

At p. 30: item 10, fol. 204, "Inc. Glossa" is found in Bologna Univ. Lib. 303 (500), 15c, ff. 129v-133v, as a gloss on Arnald of Villanova, Epistola qui dicitur Gloriosissima margarita.

At p. 33: item 11, fol. 1, is also found in TK 398; and CUL Add 4087, c. 1370, f. 1.

At p. 44: item 12, fol. 71, is also found in TK 382; and fol. 120, which should read, "Fuit vir unus moribus . . ." with a cross reference to item 33, ff. 63-71v, is also found in TK 271, and FR 1164 (L. III. 32), 15c, ff. 56r-61v.

At p. 47: item 12, fol. 141v, is probably identical with TK 471 (BU 303 (500), 15c, fol. 224r-v).

At p. 51: item 12, fol. 231, is identical with TK 767.

At p. 59: item 16, p. 195, is identical with TK 718-19.

At p. 83: item 25, fol. 117, TK 407, was edited by E. Wickersheimer in *Janus* XL (1937), 147-148.

At p. 111: item 33, fol. 1, is identical with TK 162; and fol. 20v is identical with TK 667.

At p. 112: item 33, fol. 48v, may be identified with TK 740.

At pp. 112-113: item 33, fol. 72, should be compared with TK 425-426.

At. p. 113: item 33, fol. 89, is identical with TK 627.

At p. 116: item 35, fol. 49, is identical with TK 34 (Alexius Africanus . . .), and fol. 49v, with TK 697.

At p. 118: item 35, at [fol. 102v], there should be noted a short tract beginning "Cogitur exire . . ." which also appears in item 41, fol. 19v, and in TK 106.

At p. 130: item 36, fol. 226, is identical with TK 286, "Hec est porta lapidis . . ."

At p. 145: item 40, fol. 197, is probably identical with TK 740.

At p. 149: item 41, fol. 19v, is identical with TK 106.

PEARL KIBRE

Hunter College

The Middle Ages in the West: A Study of European Unity. By the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Slesser, P.C. (London: Hutchinson and Co., Ltd.; New York: Macmillan Co. 1951. Pp. 252. $4.50.)

To review this book by Sir Henry Slesser, late Lord Justice of Appeal, would be a much more pleasant task had the author decided to restrict himself to the subject-matter of the second part of his essay, that is to a discussion of "Failure and Achievement" of the Middle Ages, and to incorporate in it the judicious general remarks now included in Part I which bears the title, "The History." In this first part, Sir Henry has attempted to give a compressed account of the history of a thousand years from the point of view of spiritual unity and social coherence, gained, and lost again, during that period. One may be in full sympathy with his viewpoint, admire the sober and vigorous (although at times overly succinct) style in which a mosaic image of many facts is presented, and still doubt if the purpose aimed at has been achieved. To this reviewer at least, it seems a hopeless task to encompass a factual history of the western Middle Ages in little more than 150 pages. Within such limits, the greatest economy as to detail and strict concentration on crucial turning points would seem required—a treatment in which Christopher Dawson, for instance, has excelled for many years. Sir Henry's history seems to me to give too much and too little: too much for the unprepared reader who will easily get lost among the ever recurring Henrys, Ottos, Gregorys, Bernards, etc., who at times are not sufficiently identified ("the Emperor Otto" on p. 191, "Bishop Martin' on p. 200) or confused ("the Platonist St. Bernard" and "John Damascene of Poitiers" on p. 207); whereas the scholar could have appreciated the real contributions to historical interpretation without a description of well-known events which (in both parts of the book) does not always avoid repetitiousness and inexactitude. Here are a few examples: p. 29: read Francia for Franconia; p. 41: Aniane for Allaine; p. 43: 843 for 847; p. 57: 754 for 774; p. 114: 1154 for 1254; p. 194: basilica for basilicon, etc. Also, p. 38 misjudges the great achievements of Byzantium; p. 67 gives a wrong picture of Gregory VII's election; p. 132 prolongs the life of St. Bernard of Clairvaux beyond 1179; p. 143 makes Urban IV the direct successor of a Pope Gregory; p. 194 ascribes the introduction of the clerestory to Gothic architecture, and

p. 195 makes the *Roman de la Rose* contemporary with the *Chanson de Roland*, etc.

After these criticisms, it must be emphasized that the work, nevertheless, has excellent qualities and is often instructive and at times illuminating. Sir Henry is at his best in the four chapters on government and law, on commerce and science, on mediaeval philosophy, and on the defense of the faith, which form Part II, and in related sections of Part I, for instance, on Magna Carta (pp. 135 ff.). The chapters on law and on philosophy, read together, well illustrate the great changes which occurred in Christian thought and life from the age of St. Augustine to that of St. Thomas Aquinas and beyond. How right the author is in criticizing the older school of historians of mediaeval political theory and history who saw everything from the angle of the controversy between the temporal and spiritual power only (p. 173)! In his account of mediaeval philosophy and theology, he stresses rightly the Platonistic beside the Aristotelian element in St. Thomas' doctrine. In his general view of mediaeval history he does full justice to the epochal roles of Pope Gregory VII about 1080. He says, "granted the assumptions which the Middle Ages made, it is difficult to see how the claim made by Gregory for the Church . . . to guide the secular powers into the way of peace can consistently be denied" (p. 73). Of the Emperor Frederick II 150 years later, Sir Henry remarks, "If mediaevalism be regarded not merely as one of many historic epochs, but as an attempt to realise on earth a certain way of life . . . then it would appear that this sacred experiment, unique in human history, reached its last term and failed finally in the time when Frederick II repudiated papal and Catholic spiritual guidance" (p. 141).

GERHART B. LADNER

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AMERICAN HISTORY

Revolution and Tradition in Modern American Art. By John I. H. Baur. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 170; 199 figs. $6.00.)

Art and Life in America. By Oliver W. Larkin. (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1949. Pp. xviii, 547; 417 figs. $6.00.)

Revolution and Tradition is the first published volume of the Library of Congress Series in American Civilization. As such it sets a high standard for the program, which is to present *seriatim* the various aspects

of American life in the twentieth century. Baur's difficult task was to bring some kind of order into the complexity and confusion of American art during the past fifty years. He has done this partly by omission, for his book concentrates on painting and sculpture, partly by emphases, for he relates his material to salient events (the exhibition of the Eight in 1908, the Armory Show of 1913, the economic depression of the 1930's etc.); but mostly by careful differentiation and classification of artistic movements and reasoned accounts of their vicissitudes. It is a most enlightened and enlightening book, with the remarkable merit of sticking to its own subject, art. It shows no wandering off from the main tent into the many attractive side-shows, such as biography, aesthetics, sociology, and the like, which are the more tempting to the modern critic the more novel they seem to him, that is to say, the less experience and knowledge he has of them.

As the word order of Baur's title promises, the book deals more with "Revolution" than with "Tradition"—about two to one. But what the title does not promise the reader is a welcome bonus in Baur's last three chapters that deal considerately with the current role and prospects of American art and artists. While the book cannot contain all that everyone should know about modern American art, it provides a good introduction to the subject, well arranged and illustrated.

Professor Larkin's book represents a labor of many years and will be of lasting value proportionate to the careful scholarship which underlies the writing of it. It is conceived as a contribution to the history of American culture, in which art is viewed against its total historical background. Each of the half-dozen eras into which Larkin has divided the American story from about 1600 to 1945 has been tellingly characterized, usually with the aid of contemporaneous quotations, and of deft word-sketches of representative personalities and events. Thus the art of each era appears integrated with its own ambient and intentions. The result is a most engaging panorama of American cultural history as a living, changing, organic whole. The rather dashing style in which the book is written should make it excellent supplementary reading for students or amateurs, especially if their appetites are beginning to get jaded by the timid and fleshless preciseness of history manuals. Yet Larkin's light touch as stylist always rests on a wide erudition that provides him with the right quotation or anecdote to vivify each specific point in his narrative. The thirty-two pages of bibliographical notes at the back of the book show clearly on what solid foundations he has built. So far as the purpose of the historian is to make past times seem emergent actualities and to set them forth in their own terms, Larkin must be said to have succeeded. He makes the

run-of-the-mill books on American history seem abstract, those on the history of American art, antiquated.

JOHN SHAPLEY

The Catholic University of America

The Uprooted. The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People. By Oscar Handlin. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1951. Pp. 310. $4.00.)

Dr. Handlin states in his preface that he is endeavoring to relate the story of the great migrations that have been the basis of modern America, not in terms of the country so much as in terms of the effects of these migrations on the migrants themselves. This is an interesting and challenging proposal, and one to which Dr. Handlin brings many years of study and writing. The style and arrangement of the book are quite attractive, although a bit unconventional for studies of immigration. In attempting his portrayal Dr. Handlin was faced with a paucity of material that could really portray the feelings of the peasants he talks about. The real peasants did not write and the European homes to which they wrote were not the kind that would treasure up those messages. The observations of European travelers and even the foreign language newspapers founded soon after their arrival do not contain the kind of reasoning that the author seeks to portray. Probably this lack of suitable materials dictated the form of the book, which in its style and emotionalism could be placed on the shelf alongside the historical fiction about the immigrant from which he apparently obtained much of his information.

In the content of his book Dr. Handlin is not so successful. His lack of understanding of spiritual values, his theory that the immigrants' religion had been evolved to relieve their sad life in Europe, and the utter hopelessness and sadness he finds in the migrants' lives is not historically true. His generalizations are not really history, although he could find individual migrants that felt hopeless or who seemed crushed by their environment. He has judged the migrants' lives from the standards of twentieth-century comforts and twentieth-century secularism. Not all the immigrants wanted the material comforts of the twentieth century, nor do all that live amid twentieth-century comforts feel happier because of having them. The religious life of the immigrants was not evolved to offer earthly solace from the harshness of material existence. Essentially religion consists in a belief that there is something more than material existence, and the evil is of human origin. Only when this faith has been lost do men fall into the materialism that pervades Dr. Handlin's story

and try to evolve a soulless religion of symbolism or resort to the irrationalism of the Marxist faith. One looks in vain in this volume for the joy and pride the immigrant found in his possessions of new lands, in building new homes, in conquering new territories, in establishing the American ideals of democracy and brotherhood. It is true that scoundrels came to America as well as good citizens, that capitalistic ideals of English democracy became the dominant theme of the new country, and that the English-speaking majority has never ceased to rule the country. These are not unmixed evils or benefits, and there are so many other fine things that have made many peasants who have come to America proud of the liberty and of the high standard of living generally determined that the evils that have survived—particularly racial inequalities—shall be eliminated. One thing that religious faith offers, that the materialistic pessimism of this volume lacks, is the confidence in divine Providence which does allow the tares to grow with the wheat, that does not muzzle the ox that treads the corn, that does find so much of good in this life, not as the ultimate but rather as a promise of the things to come. The pessimism and determinism that pervade Dr. Handlin's work could never have created the Middle West, or the Far West, could not have preserved the Catholic faith of so many millions, or the progressive spirit of the Protestant groups of the rural regions of the North Central states which have been today so progressive in political and social theory. Dr. Handlin has read too much of the protest literature and missed almost entirely the spiritual exaltation of the millions who wrote their story in the great accomplishments of our former immigrants now become Americans.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

Jefferson and His Time: I, *Jefferson the Virginian;* II, *Jefferson and the Rights of Man.* By Dumas Malone. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1948 and 1951. Pp. xxi, 484; xxix, 523. $6.00 a volume.)

These first two of a projected series of five volumes give every indication that we shall have soon *the* definitive biography of Thomas Jefferson. So thorough is Professor Malone's research, so complete his coverage, that it is difficult to see any need for further study of the man whom many regard as holding "recognized membership in the trinity of American immortals." This "comprehensive biography" will doubtless fall into the same category as Beveridge's *Marshall,* Freeman's *Lee,* and Freeman's *Washington.*

Dr. Malone describes his work as an attempt "to see the whole of a many-sided man," and he approaches his subject with the view that

Jefferson was "a living, growing, changing man" who, after Franklin, "may be regarded as the fullest American embodiment of the ideals of the Enlightenment." He comments further that Jefferson's contemporaries knew him mainly as a devoted and effective public servant, as an amiable man, and a loyal friend; and that only the passage of time could reveal the significance of his work. Now that an immense mass of material on Jefferson has been assembled, the moment has come to weld this rich store of information into a unified whole.

That Professor Malone is the man to perform the task is revealed by the most casual sampling of the initial volumes. It becomes apparent at once that here we have the distillation of all previous studies, besides frequent recourse to and checking with manuscript and contemporary sources. The footnotes reflect meticulous scholarship, and their critical nature (including many favorable comments, such as "good," "excellent," "valuable," "penetrating," "illuminating," "brilliant," and "admirable") leaves literally nothing to be desired in that respect. The writing of the text is excellent and includes numerous felicitous expressions, of which the remarks that "bearers of the Randolph name sprouted like so many pine trees in an abandoned field" may be cited as an instance. This is no pedestrian opus—it lives and breathes with its subject.

Volume I deals with Jefferson's first forty-one years, covering his education and personal life, his part in the councils of the Revolution, and his service as Governor of Virginia and as member of Congress. One interesting point is the repeated comment on his great reticence concerning personal matters, particularly religion, which deprives us of accurate information in some spheres. The chapter on "The Growth of a Political Mind" provides a stimulating analysis of the Jeffersonian development which Dr. Malone stresses throughout. The years as a legislator in Virginia (1776-1779) are regarded as Jefferson's "most creative period," and his bill on crimes and punishments is labelled "an extraordinarily beautiful document" reflecting deep study of ancient sources. He is called "the chief prophet of public education" and it is noted that he thought his measure for public schools was extremely important.

The second volume covers the years 1784-1792, including Jefferson's service as minister to France and the earlier portion of his term as the nation's first Secretary of State. Here again we have a picture of him as "a living man and growing mind in a changing world, not as a statue in a niche or a portrait on the wall." There is emphasis on his interest in agriculture, with the comment that he thought of his sending olive trees to South Carolina and Georgia as one of his most important deeds. An interesting description of the early organization of the government reveals the President as "the hub of a wheel from which the departmental spokes radiated." The beginning of the factional disputes is traced, and Hamilton

appears as a would-be dictator, not exactly honest, and "playing into British hands." Washington, on the other hand, emerges as a remarkably patient and moderate man, who felt a real tie with Jefferson because of their mutual love for country life.

Both volumes contain full bibliographical notes and comments. The first volume has three appendices which cover completely genealogical, land, and personal details. The second volume has at the beginning a useful chronology of happenings during the period concerned. The accounts of earlier events include many conjectures, with frequent use of such words as "probably," "presumably," and "could have"; but that merely indicates lack of complete materials for the years prior to Jefferson's entrance on the public stage. There are a few awkward grammatical constructions, and certainly the Hamiltonians will protest the treatment of their hero, but otherwise this is a splendid start of an important work.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

Loyola College
Baltimore

The Hawthornes: The Story of Seven Generations of an American Family. By Vernon Loggins. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 365. $5.00.)

The author has set himself a difficult task—to write the story of a family whose influence on American history has been felt from colonial times down to our own. Apart from the difficulties intrinsically inherent in attempting to write so extensive a story in so short a space, he has acquitted himself admirably of the task. An introductory chapter traces the old world backgrounds of the Hawthorne family. Two chapters are devoted to Major William, the first American Hawthorne and, perhaps, the strongest-willed of all; two more to his son, Colonel John Hawthorne, long remembered for his part in the witchcraft scare of 1692; one chapter each to John's son, Joseph, who became successively sea captain and farmer and to Joseph's son, Daniel, who was at once sea captain and privateersman during the Revolutionary War; three chapters to Nathaniel, the romancer; one to his father, also called Nathaniel; and a final chapter to the romancer's daughter, Rose.

Perhaps the best part of the book, certainly the most interesting, is that which describes the fortunes of the first two generations of Hawthornes. Major William Hawthorne, converted to Puritanism in England, came to America about 1630 with a vision in his mind that nothing could erase—the vision of God's state rising in the wilderness of the new world. As he rose to prominence in the Salem colony, he saw himself more

and more as the instrument of divine Providence in the foundation of that theocracy. Colonel John Hawthorne was heir to his father's position and ideals. The prominent role he played in the witchcraft persecutions was destined, when the scare was over and sanity returned, to prove a setback, though only temporary, to the fortunes of the Hawthornes.

The various factors that influenced Nathaniel Hawthorne in his writings —his sister Elizabeth, his determination to excel as a writer, the changing fortunes of his family—are well explained in the three admirable chapters devoted to the great American novelist. The story of Nathaniel's daughter, Rose, presented as a frustrated woman, unhappy in her married life and searching for some noble cause to which she might dedicate her energies is, perhaps, the least successful part of the book. (Incidentally, the author refers, on page 325, to Rose and a companion as "novitiates" in the Dominican Order, where he obviously means to say "novices.")

Much research must have gone into the writing of this book. For this reason the omission of footnotes and references is unfortunate. This omission is supplied in part by an excellent annotated bibliography. There is also a good analytical index. The book is interesting and reads well. The occasional confusion resulting from the author's effort to include something about every member of the Hawthorne family in each generation might have been avoided in part by the inclusion of a genealogical table. Students of American history, especially of the colonial period, will find this work well worth reading.

WILLIAM H. SHANNON

Nazareth College
Rochester

The Amiable Baltimoreans. By Francis F. Beirne. [Society in America Series.] (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. 1951. Pp. 400. $5.00.)

One thing immediately obvious in this book is the author's affection for the city about which he writes. Apparently he has a genuine enthusiasm for the metropolis where North and South meet in a "hospitable climate" and where the people go their "leisurely and contented way." One gets the impression that Mr. Beirne is both gratified and amused by the reputed unwillingness of Baltimoreans to accept change. He suggests that it has been the adopted Baltimoreans who have made the really significant contributions to the city's progress; but even the adopted Baltimorean, according to Mr. Beirne, eventually succumbs to the native lethargy, so that after more than 200 years "the chief difference between Baltimore Town and Baltimore City is one of size."

Notwithstanding this fondness for the city and its people, this is not the best book that can be written about Baltimore; as a matter of fact, it is a superficial work. The author implies that, if his idea for this volume is not entirely satisfactory, at least he will have succeeded in "getting the job done." Whatever the reason for it, there is too much chit-chat about belles and hat-check men and the like. These, of course, need not be entirely eliminated from a dissertation about a city, but surely the frivolous and the inconsequential should not claim so much of the author's attention while what is really significant frequently receives only passing mention or is even ignored altogether. Part of this book's professed aim is "to portray the individual characteristics" of the sectional society which is Baltimore. Mr. Beirne has left out of his book several things which should have had his attention. For example, one would expect that the author would have paid his respects to the historical fact that for nearly a century and a half Baltimore occupied a really unique position with respect to the Catholic Church in the United States. Yet this truly individual characteristic of the city is unnoticed by him. He does not even mention one national synod and the ten national councils of Baltimore.

There are errors, too, which could have been avoided, e.g., the author is incorrect when he states that John Carroll was named "Vicar General of the Roman Catholic Church in America" in 1786. But, for one reader at least, the really serious objection is that this book too closely resembles the gossip-columns of today's newspapers.

E. Robert Arthur

St. Matthew's Cathedral
Washington

Origins of the New South, 1877-1913. By C. Vann Woodward. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 542. $6.50.)

This work is a very successful evaluation of the intricate economic, political, and social interrelationships on which the South as we know it today is built. It is Volume IX, and the fifth to be published, of the proposed ten-volume series known as the History of the South.

The New South is a regional entity of its own, in many ways as distinct as was the Old South, and this despite its apparent assimilation of national ideals and its participation in national political and economic life. Many historians, Francis Butler Simkins excepted, have failed to grasp or to stress this regional distinctiveness, content that the history of the New South is adequately told when the broad national issues are

narrated. The author of the volume under consideration, one of the South's distinguished historians, not only subscribes to the regional theme but runs it through the narrative in a convincing manner. In each of the seventeen chapters some important phase of southern history is analyzed; many of the chapters are approached from a fresh point of view, and all of them sparkle with quotations from the men who lived on the scene and shaped the destinies of the region.

Of all the topics discussed "The Unredeemed Farmer" (pp. 175-204) should receive special attention. There was no "economic democracy" following the Civil War, as the author points out, and certainly "emancipation did not free the poor whites more than it did the Negro." While there was some distribution of land, "the parceling out of plantation lands in small plots among croppers was more a reflection of the revolution in the labor system than it was a revolution in land tenure" (p. 178). The tenant and crop-lien systems with all their attendant evils are effectively narrated, and the reader will never doubt that for decades poor living conditions and economic hardships remained the lot of many. The chapter should be read in connection with the fine account of the status of the races (pp. 205-234). The "Atlanta Compromise" (pp. 350-368) is well handled. The final chapter on "The Return of the South" to a position of political importance rounds out the narrative.

The critical essay on authorities is comprehensive and will be of help to students and research specialists doing work in southern history. The book is a fit companion to the other fine volumes in the series.

JOSEPH SCHMITZ

St. Mary's University
San Antonio

Caudillo. (A Portrait of Antonio Guzman Blanco.) By George S. Wise. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xviii, 190. $3.00.)

Guzman Blanco directed the political destinies of Venezuela from 1863 to 1890. His manners contrasted with his morals to the notable eclipse of the latter. Son of a newsman whose propaganda produced one of the major turns in the generally tortuous history of that republic, he employed wile and force to capture the headship of state. That done, his two concerns were to amass a fortune as proof against future mishap, and to stay in power. He died out of office.

He was of a pattern with the Caribbean type of *caudillo* that infests the narratives of the past thirteen decades. To borrow from the author, he developed communication and transportation, stabilized agriculture and commerce, gave impetus to education and eliminated "the social control

of the Church to a large extent." "At the same time he looked after his personal interests." He made himself independently wealthy. He treated others merely as instrumentalities. He violated the very laws of his own constitution (pp. 64-65).

As a rogue, he is interesting. His biography is less so, and understandably, for Dr. Wise opens his background treatment on the theme of "the bankrupt colonial regime of Latin America." Errors of fact abound, too numerous to list here, and judgments no deeper than those he cites from Miss Watters whose emotional account obscures more than it reveals of the Church in that land. The larger error appears to be a mechanistic concept of the rise of dictators: a special type of political vacuum appears, and nature fills it with the proper species and individual. Those who write history *from* a thesis almost always abound in weakness of data. And here we find that creoles "considered it beneath their dignity to own stores" (p. 26), while (p. 36) "They were merchants." A howler notes that *peninsulares* were the owners of the great estates of the colonial aristocracy (p. 25). "The Church performed many functions . . . such as education . . . and the administration of revenues" (p. 22). *Encomiendas* continued until the eve of independence (p. 8) yet (p. 3) "disappeared at the end of the seventeenth century." The population in 1800 is put at 738,000 (p. 13) and (p. 7) 1,000,000. The writer appears truly objective in his two biographical chapters on Guzman Blanco, an attitude he maintains quite regularly unless his judgments touch the Church. There he has a strange notion of the power of religion (p. 120). One would wish, too, that he had read Earl Hamilton before putting down his opinion on economic directives of the Spanish crown (p. 26).

W. Eugene Shiels

Xavier University
Cincinnati

NOTES AND COMMENTS

One of the richest and most extensive of modern literary remains is to be found in the personal papers of John Henry Cardinal Newman preserved at the Oratory in Birmingham, England. These papers have now been microfilmed almost in their entirety by the Yale University Library, and the films, together with the library's very fine collection of Newman's published and privately printed works, are currently available for use by American scholars. The only restrictions in their use, which have been imposed by the Oratorian Fathers in whom Newman's literary rights are vested, concern the publication of full-length documents; any use short of this, including direct quotation of portions of documents, is unrestricted.

The Newman Papers are divided into two main collections, the Miscellaneous Papers and the Letters. The latter comprise, in the films, 67,000 frames or nearly 100,000 pages of manuscript material covering every period and every phase of Newman's life. There are letters both to and from Newman, mostly originals but in some cases rough drafts or copies, either by Newman himself or by others. The letters have been divided into five major collections: (1) Personal Letters, arranged under the name of the correspondent, of whom over a hundred are distinguished; (2) Miscellaneous Letters, chronologically arranged from 1816 to 1890; (3) Oratory Letters, to and from members of the Oratory or relating predominantly to Oratory affairs; (4) Various Letters, arranged by the subject they chiefly concern, as Tract 90, the Achilli Trial, etc.; and (5) Copied Letters, comprising typed copies of letters by Newman which were called in by his literary executors after his death and transcribed before being returned to their various owners. There are also special groups of family letters and letters to his publishers, and there are many other letters and extracts from letters mingled among the Miscellaneous Papers.

The Miscellaneous Papers comprise 36,000 frames and include materials of all sorts: diaries from 1824 to 1871 with a few gaps, personal memoranda, and detailed journals of particular years, notebooks and preparatory studies for published works, manuscripts of these works and of some unpublished writings, corrected proof sheets, account books, receipts, legal and formal documents, school and university exercises, and many personal mementoes. Newman practically lived with a pen in his hand, and he kept almost every paper that it touched. Hence the amazing completeness of his collection, which is valuable not merely for the importance of what it contains but also for the minute way in which it

reaches into the life of the past. It has, of course, been used by earlier scholars, but its riches are far from exhausted, either for the Newmanist or for the general historian of the nineteenth century. There is a typed catalogue of the collection in the Yale Library, but it is not very detailed, and the specialist must expect to do considerable digging on his own.

It is a curious coincidence that the American Revolutionary War, which brought religious liberty to the Catholics in North America, was also instrumental in bringing about the first Mass to the city of Hanau in Germany after an interruption of more than 200 years. On March 23, 1777, the Catholic officer, von Hackmich, requested the pastor of a neighboring village to say Mass in Hanau for a detachment of Hessian soldiers who were on their way to America to assist the British in their struggle against the Americans. This priest said Mass on Palm Sunday, March 24, 1777, in a private room, where fifty soldiers received the sacraments of penance and Holy Communion. This first Mass, then, inaugurated the resurrection of Catholic life in Hanau in Hesse.

On July 27 the city of Zweibruecken (Deux Ponts), Germany, is presenting an historical pageant in observance of the 600th anniversary of its foundation as a city. The first group will represent the pioneers of the country, namely, St. Pirmin and his Benedictine monks of the Abbey of Hornbach. A later group will have great interest for American history. It will represent a detachment of soldiers of the famous Zweibruecken or Deux-Ponts Regiment in the original uniforms and with the flag which was carried through the streets of Philadelphia on September 3, 1781, when the regiment passed muster in front of the Continental Congress. This same regiment later carried its flag through the streets of Baltimore and Williamsburg and set it up on the battlefield of Yorktown when the British laid down their weapons. This flag was later carried through many battles in Europe until finally the regiment was disbanded and the uniform and flag preserved in the museum of Lyons in France. Unfortunately, the piece of brass ordnance captured by the soldiers of the regiment on October 14, 1781, and later presented to them by General Washington as a testimony of their gallantry, was later lost during the European wars.

The annual report of the secretary of the Commission for the Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians for 1951 had encouraging news. While the federal census of 1950 reported an increase

of 15.9 percent among the Negroes in the United States during the period since 1940, there was an increase among Catholic Negroes of 52.5 percent during the same decade. At present there are approximately 410,000 American Catholic Negroes, including 9,642 adult converts during 1951. The Catholic Negroes are served by 637 priests in 455 churches and have 329 schools with a total enrollment of 72,554 students. The Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana, still leads with 72,000 Catholic Negroes and the Archdiocese of New Orleans is next with 65,446. The Archdioceses of New York and Washington have almost an equal number with 29,947 and 29,850 respectively.

The Indian Catholics of the United States now have 406 chapels and churches and are served by 175 priests who are exclusively engaged in this work, with about fifty other priests working part time on the Indian missions. The priests are assisted by 519 sisters and eighty-six scholastics and lay brothers who staff the sixty-one mission schools with a total enrollment of 8,107 pupils. As in former years the Diocese of Gallup leads with 12,000 Catholic Indians and the Diocese of Rapid City is again second with 11,105. The smallest number of Indian Catholics is reported by the new Diocese of Juneau, namely, 223. The total number of Catholic Indians has now reached the figure of 100,722. The largest sum reported for the annual collection for the Negro and Indian missions was $58,556.31 from the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, which has no Indian Catholics and the relatively small number of 18,722 Catholic Negroes.

The date of the ordination of William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston (1859-1944), is customarily stated to have been June 8, 1884. This assertion is made by James J. Walsh, in *Our American Cardinals* (New York, 1926), by Joseph B. Code in the *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* (New York, 1940), by Brendan A. Finn, in *Twenty Four American Cardinals* (Boston, 1947), by *Who's Who in America*, and by the successive issues of the *Official Catholic Directory*. That the date should have been accepted so unquestionably is perfectly natural, for it was evidently the cardinal himself who supplied it. In his *Letters of Cardinal O'Connell* (Cambridge, 1915), I, 93-94, he identifies June 8 as the day of his ordination, and Cardinal Monaco La Valletta as the ordaining prelate. In his *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1934) he also says he received the priesthood on June 8, 1884, from the hands of the cardinal vicar (whose name he does not mention) in the Basilica of St. John Lateran, Rome (p. 137). Walsh follows the former work, accepting Cardinal Monaco as the officiating prelate; Dr. Code states more correctly that the cardinal vicar was Lucido Maria Cardinal Parocchi.

According to the records of the Vicariate of the City of Rome, Cardinal Parocchi ordained William Henry O'Connell in St. John Lateran, not on June 8, 1884, but on June 7, 1884, which was Ember Saturday in Pentecost Week. This date is confirmed by the student records of the North American College in Rome, of which O'Connell was an alumnus. Students of ecclesiastical biography will at once see that Cardinal O'Connell, in later life (like many priests ordained on movable feasts), came to confuse the date of his ordination with that of his first Mass. Nor should the contradictory statements in the *Letters* be given any credit. The "contemporary" letters in that book were rather considerably edited before publication.

Volume II of the *Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjährigen Bestandes des Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchivs* (Vienna, 1951), edited by Leo Santifaller, contains among its contributions two by Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi of the Catholic University of America which will be of special interest to readers of the REVIEW. These studies, which are based on original materials from the archives honored by this volume, are entitled "Zwei Studien zur Geschichte des österreichischen Vetorechtes" (pp. 283-300) and deal with the conclave that elected Pius IX in 1846 and some aspects of the candidacy of Cardinal Rampolla in the conclave of 1903.

Franciscan Studies combined its issues of September and December, 1951 (Volume XI, Nos. 3-4) to bring out a large volume of 435 pages commemorating the first anniversary of St. Bonaventure University in its university status. The essays are thirteen in number and deal in a scholarly manner with themes that are related in the main to problems of mediaeval theology and philosophy. The final essay is entitled, "The History of St. Bonaventure University" (pp. 365-424), by Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M. The individual titles are listed in our current Periodical Literature. The volume has an index of persons and places running to ten pages.

The Association and the REVIEW offer congratulations to the Most Reverend Robert J. Dwyer upon his appointment to the See of Reno. Bishop-elect Dwyer took his doctorate in history in 1941 at the Catholic University of America, publishing as his dissertation, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*. He is likewise the author of a brief history of the Cathedral of the Madeleine in Salt Lake City and of an article in the April issue of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* on Bishop Lawrence Scanlan, first incum-

bent of that see. Besides being a member of the American Catholic Historical Association he is now vice president of the Utah Historical Society. At the time of his elevation to the Diocese of Reno he was rector of the Madeleine and editor of the weekly *Intermountain Register*.

The editors of the REVIEW extend their congratulations to John J. Meng, professor of history in Hunter College, on his appointment by the Board of Higher Education of New York City to the newly created position of Dean of Administration at Hunter. Dr. Meng will assume his new duties on September 1. He took the doctorate at the Catholic University of America in 1932 and in 1945 was president of the American Catholic Historical Association.

The Reverend Charles H. Lynch, Rector of Our Lady of Providence Seminary, Warwick Neck, Long Island, has been made a papal chamberlain with the title of monsignor. His doctoral dissertation on St. Braulio, translated into Spanish by Pascual Galindo, has been sumptuously printed by the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas under the title, *San Braulio, obispo de Zaragoza (631-651): su vida y sus obras* (Madrid, 1950. Sixty pesetas). Lynch's corrections and revisions are presented in a fourteen-page appendix. The translator has added other valuable appendixes: "Los códices parisiense y escurialense"; "Renotatio Isidori a Braulione edita"; and six brief editions of source materials on Braulio's life.

Francis Xavier Murphy, C.SS.R., is now serving as a chaplain in the United States Army with the armed forces in Japan. A volume of studies on St. Jerome edited by him has just been published by Sheed and Ward and his study on the Council of Chalcedon is being printed for the Catholic University of America Press.

Thomas H. D. Mahoney of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of history.

Frank Klement of Marquette University is the recipient of a grant-in-aid from the Social Sciences Research Council and a faculty fellowship for the academic year, 1952-1953, from the Ford Foundation. Mr. Klement is a specialist in the period of the American Civil War.

The Henry Regnery Company, 20 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, will publish early in the autumn the first volume of a detailed life of President Benjamin Harrison by Harry J. Sievers, S.J., of West Baden College.

The story of John Kernan Mullen (1847-1929), master miller of the West, is interestingly told by C. W. Hurd in the April issue of the *Colorado Magazine*. It was this Denver magnate and philanthropist who donated the money for the erection of the Catholic University of America Library, which bears his name.

The *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for March, 1952, is devoted to "Ethical Standards in American Public Life."

As pro tem director of the Central Bureau of the Catholic Central Verein of America, Father Victor T. Suren, a priest of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, has been appointed to succeed the late Frederick P. Kenkel. Father Suren had served as co-director with Mr. Kenkel since October, 1948, and will carry on the work in the fine tradition of his predecessor.

The Pan American Union, with the collaboration of the Library of Congress and the Chilean Embassy in Washington, is organizing a three-day celebration to be held in Washington on October 30-November 1 to commemorate the centennial of the birth of José Toribio Medina (1852-1930), the distinguished Chilean author and bibliographer. The celebration will consist of the reading of papers by about twenty scholars and a bibliographical and iconographical exhibition.

The third annual conference on Italian civilization sponsored by the Department of Italian at Columbia University was held on April 19 at the University's Casa Italiana. The general theme was "Italian Culture in the Twentieth Century" and arrangements for the affair, which attracted over 300 delegates, were in the hands of a committee headed by Professor Howard R. Marraro of Columbia.

Among the recipients of Guggenheim Fellowships announced on April 21 the following will be of interest to the readers of the REVIEW:

Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., of the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, for biographical studies of Fray Junípero Serra, O.F.M.; Richard W. Emery of Queens College for research on credit and trade in Southern France, 1250-1350; John L. Thomas, S.J., of St. Louis University for a study of cultural pluralism in the United States; and Dorothea Rudnick of Albertus Magnus College for research in embryology.

In the second number of the *Theologische Revue* for 1952 Berthold Altaner writes a long and careful review article of the second edition (Paris, 1948) of Pierre Courcelle's masterly work, *Les lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore*. Professor Courcelle has resigned his chair at the Sorbonne to accept one in the Collège de France.

Hispania, the historical review of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, publishes a one-page English summary of each of its articles.

The Instituto de Cultura Hispánica of Madrid announces a prize of 25,000 *pesetas* for the best published or unpublished work—published works must have appeared between October 12, 1950 and June 30, 1952—on any aspect of the colonial achievement of Spain in the New World during the period 1492-1600.

Through the courtesy of the Instituto para a Alta Cultura of Lisbon and the Portuguese Embassy in Washington, the Lima Library of the Catholic University of America has received a valuable collection of recent Portuguese works, largely on the history of Portugal and the overseas territories.

The next four issues of the *Revista de historia de América* of Mexico City, organ of the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, will be devoted to the following general subjects: The United States, Las Casas, Canada, and the French possessions in the New World. By this means the editors believe that they will more forcibly call the attention of scholars to the fact that the pages of the review are open not only to authors in the field of Latin-American history

but also to those who study the other areas of the history of the Western Hemisphere.

At the next meeting of the American Historical Association, a session will be devoted to a critical discussion of the project on the history of the Americas which is being carried out by the Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History with the aid of a two-year grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The discussion will be focused on two types of problems: first, those relating to the main politico-geographical areas (Latin America, the United States, and Canada), and second, those suggested by a comparison of this project with UNESCO's Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind. The discussion will be led by Charles C. Griffin, Richard H. Shryock, Ralph Turner, and Carl Wittke.

Catálogo del Museo Histórico Nacional (2 vols., Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos E.G.L.H., 1952. Pp. 565, 668) is a handsome catalogue of what is undoubtedly the best historical museum of South America. The first volume describes holdings of the pre-Colombian, colonial, early independence, and Rosas periods; the second, the last one hundred years of Argentine history and the foreign objects in the collections.

Léon Levillain, retired professor of the sources of French history at the Ecole des Chartres, died in Paris on January 16. His teaching was always on a high level of scholarship. His penetrating studies on moot questions of Merovingian and Carolingian history established his reputation as one of the most critical of French mediaevalists. He served long and well as an editor of *Le moyen âge*.

Joseph L. O'Brien, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Charleston, South Carolina since 1929, died on March 2 in his sixty-eighth year. Monsignor O'Brien was educated at Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, and the University of Fribourg. In 1915 he founded the Bishop England High School in Charleston, of which he remained the guiding spirit for many years. Monsignor O'Brien was the author of *John England, Bishop of Charleston* (New York, 1934), a good popular biography of the first ordinary of the South Carolina see. Besides serving as diocesan superintendent of schools he was an active participant in numerous enterprises

of a cultural and civic nature in the South, and it was in recognition of the high esteem in which this genial and learned priest was held that the College of Charleston conferred the honorary degree of LL.D. upon him in 1938. For many years he was a member of the American Catholic Historical Association.

The Passionist Fathers in the United States and Canada observed the centenary of their establishment on this continent at the end of April. It was in 1852 that four Italian Passionists left the motherhouse in Rome in company with the first Bishop of Pittsburgh, Michael O'Connor, by whose invitation they were en route to America to begin work in his diocese. The first monastery was built in Pittsburgh shortly after the arrival of the pioneer fathers from Italy. The construction was undertaken in the face of threats from the Know-Nothings in the area that they would destroy at night what had been built each day. From that first American foundation, the work of preaching missions and retreats was begun, and within four years the field of labor extended from Boston to St. Louis. Through the years a score of monasteries were founded and today the congregation in the United States is divided into two provinces. Many of the American monasteries have large retreat houses attached to them, in which retreats are given each weekend of the year, with a total of 50,000 laymen now using these facilities each year in this country. The work of that congregation in this country is well known through its monthly magazine, *The Sign*. The foundation begun in Pittsburgh years ago has grown and spread beyond this continent to provinces in Germany and South America, a mission field in Hunan, China, and a projected one in Japan. Five convents of cloistered Passionist nuns in the United States carry out the purpose confided to them by St. Paul of the Cross, viz., to aid in making fruitful the apostolate of the priests by means of their contemplative life. Several convents of the Passionist Sisters—a teaching order founded in England—maintain parish schools in eastern American dioceses.

Alexander A. Vasiliev, professor of history at the University of Wisconsin until his retirement and subsequently a research scholar at Dumbarton Oaks, was awarded the Haskins Medal of the Mediaeval Academy of America for his volume on *Justin the First* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, I, 1950). A revised edition of his *History of the Byzantine Empire* has recently been published by the University of Wisconsin Press.

The fourteenth centenary of the Convent of the Holy Cross at Poitiers was observed May 2-4. Its uninterrupted history of fourteen hundred years is unique in the annals of French monasticism. It was founded by St. Radegund, Thuringian princess and wife of graceless King Chlotar I, son of Clovis. She dedicated the convent to Our Lady and adopted the rule of St. Caesarius of Arles. Instead of taking charge herself she had her friend Agnes made the abbess and worked with her in great harmony. Gifts of relics of the true Cross from Constantinople offered occasion to Venantius Fortunatus to compose the hymns *Vexilla Regis* and *Pange lingua gloriosi praelium certaminis* and gave the convent the name of Holy Cross. With the spread of Benedictinism the sisters adopted the rule of St. Benedict. Through the efforts of Abbot Guéranger of Solesmes late in the last century the nuns were rescued from abject poverty and were able to consecrate themselves to the contemplative life.

During 1952 two Canadian Catholic institutions of higher learning are celebrating their centennials. It was in 1852 that Archbishop Pierre-Flavien Turgeon of Quebec and his suffragans secured the establishment of Laval University in Quebec with a charter signed by Queen Victoria on December 8. Earlier in the same year Bishop Armand Comte de Charbonnel, S.S., of Toronto brought the Basilian Fathers to his see city where they opened St. Michael's College, which in 1887 was officially declared a college of the University of Toronto.

A monument will be dedicated this summer on Mt. Desert Island, Maine by John J. O'Brien of Grosse Pointe Farms, Michigan, to commemorate the first landing of Catholic priests in Maine in 1613. The monument will consist of a bronze bas-relief, depicting the four Jesuits erecting a cross, and a bronze tablet explaining the event.

BRIEF NOTICES

BIRCH, P. *St. Kieran's College Kilkenny.* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd. 1951. Pp. xx, 348. 25s.)

St. Kieran's College was the first Catholic secondary school and seminary to open in Ireland after the relaxing of the penal laws. Since that time, 1782, its history of constant struggle with a perpetual need for economy, the comparative poverty of its pupils, and its lack of educational facilities have presented the form and pattern followed by most Irish colleges and seminaries. Father Birch, a member of the faculty of St. Kieran's, thus is able, while recounting affectionately the story of his school, to present a synopsis of the history of Catholic education in modern Ireland. For the most part his rather unimaginative chronicling of courses and textbooks, prize lists, and names of distinguished students and teachers will be of interest mainly to wearers of the old school tie. It is only when he analyzes, well but too briefly, the effects of changing social and political conditions, the famine, the risings of 1798 and 1916, and of educational theories, such as the influence of Newman and the Catholic University of Ireland on St. Kieran's and the final triumph of English utilitarian ideals with their stress on mathematics and science to the neglect of cultural subjects, that his book appeals to a wider audience. Here it makes a contribution, in the form of a representative case study, to the history of education in Ireland. (JAMES A. REYNOLDS)

BOWEN, ELIZABETH. *The Shelbourne Hotel.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1951. Pp. 240. $4.00.)

The Shelbourne Hotel brings an eminent literary figure into the historical field for a second time. In *Bowen's Court* (1942) Elizabeth Bowen related the story of her ancestral home in Ireland, and sketched the portraits of its occupants over a period of 300 years. Her present volume describes the famous Dublin hotel which for a century and a quarter "has gone on accumulating character, forging its own tradition, writing its page of history, gathering a whole host of associations around its name."

The present building dates from 1866. The structure it replaced began operating in a block of houses erected on the site of Kerry House, residence of the Earl of Shelburne. Martin Burke, the original proprietor, opened the hotel in 1824. Among its patrons was Thackeray, who visited Dublin in 1842. A good proportion of the book is devoted to the nineteenth-century Dublin background with which the Shelbourne seems so closely associated. The Victorian spaciousness and appointments of the Shelbourne, together with its air of having been the "resort of elegance and the haunt of fashion" are part of its unique appeal. The proprietors and managers of the hotel have received Miss Bowen's careful scrutiny, as have the details connected with its construction and operation.

This book should have a special interest for two main groups: those who will accept the subject for the sake of the author, and those who accept the author for the subject. For the busy historian with a fast accumulating book list, this volume represents a happy combination. Not often is history written in Elizabeth Bowen's liquid prose. Her frequent speculations may prove irritating rather than challenging, but her sincerity in bringing this subject before the public is cause for rejoicing. (RITA M. MURPHY)

BRANDON, EDGAR EWING (Ed.). *Lafayette, Guest of the Nation: A Contemporary Account of the Triumphal Tour of General Lafayette through the United States in 1824-1825 as Reported by the Local Newspapers.* Volume I. (Oxford, Ohio: Oxford Historical Press. 1950. Pp. 275. $3.00.)

Lafayette's contribution to the cause of American freedom and his subsequent part in French political affairs have often been written about. But to Dr. Brandon almost exclusively have been left the gathering and the preservation of the facts connected with the general's triumphal visit to this country more than forty years after the Revolutionary War. The present volume, after its introduction, restricts itself to the first six weeks of the tour. It draws from the columns of thirty-three contemporary newspapers, reinforced by a wealth of information about the communities visited, to give a very full account of Lafayette's arrival in New York, his trip through New England, and his return to New York. Parades, receptions (especially by the Masons), banquets, speeches, long series of toasts—all are preserved in their original flavor and thus made available to the student.

Unfortunately, however, the book is not easy to read because of mechanical faults. All newspaper quotations, which constitute the greatest portion of the volume, appear in fine print. Moreover, the notes, which are of considerable value, are relegated to the ends of the chapters and are poorly separated from one another. A number of misprints further mar the work. There is a satisfactory bibliography, and no fault can be found with the editor's decision to do without an index. Under the circumstances, an index would have been useless. (JOHN W. BOWEN)

DE ROBECK, NESTA. *St. Clare of Assisi.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1951. Pp. vii, 242. $3.50.)

This excellent biography of St. Clare of Assisi rounds out the rather sparse information available on her life by surveying the history of Assisi from its pre-Christian days through the thirteenth century, to which latter period the author gives detailed consideration as the historical setting of the lives of Francis and Clare. About half the book is devoted to narrative of Clare's life. It seems to be based on exhaustive research, and the sources are generously placed at the reader's disposal in the five appendices which include translations of the rule of St. Clare and the investigation of her cause. Since the process

for her canonization was begun two months after her death, many of the witnesses were sisters who had lived long under Clare's gentle direction. Other first-hand sources are four of Clare's letters to Blessed Agnes of Prague who had rejected no less a suitor than Frederick II to establish a foundation of the Poor Ladies in Bohemia. These letters are included in the chapter which describes the amazing rapidity and breadth with which the Franciscan ideal was diffused, even in the austere way of life of the Second Order. (SISTER CONSUELO MARIA AHERNE)

ELSENSOHN, SISTER M. ALFREDA, O.S.B. *Pioneer Days in Idaho County.* Volume II. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1951. Pp. xiv, 618. $10.00.)

This second volume completes the monument constructed by Sister M. Alfreda to the history, geography, geology, and botany of Idaho County, Idaho. I am impressed, if not overwhelmed, by the diversity of information provided in *Pioneer Days in Idaho County.* Data on the rivers, trails, mountains, national forests, and Indians of the area have been gleaned from every conceivable source. Newspapers, letters, memoirs, books, maps, and personal interviews have supplied the material for this compilation. The author deserves unreserved praise for her dogged persistence in ferreting out and preserving for future historians numberless shreds of otherwise lost information. The civic-minded people who supported the publication of these two ambitious volumes set a notable and laudable example of sincere interest in their local heritage.

The present volume has profited by the editorial attention of Mr. Eugene F. Hoy. Despite its marked improvement over Volume I [*Pioneer Days in Idaho County* (Caldwell, Idaho) 1945], the book suffers from a similar absence of clear purpose. The reader will detect characteristics of a dictionary, gazeteer, encyclopedia, business directory, scrap book, and note file, with frequent passages of good connected narrative. It is regrettable that the author has not written a readable history of Idaho County. The material is here, the subject deserves it, but this remains a reference work. (WILLIAM N. BISCHOFF)

FITZIMMONS, JOHN (Ed.). *Manning: Anglican and Catholic.* (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1951. Pp. vii, 160. 15s.)

On April 6, 1851, Henry Edward Manning, destined to be a cardinal of the Church and Archbishop of Westminster, submitted to Rome. To commemorate the centenary of this historic event, John Fitzsimmons has edited a number of essays on various facets of the life of this famous contemporary of Newman. Although the book is entitled *Manning: Anglican and Catholic,* only one of the ten essays deals with his Anglican life. This essay, however, is probably the most original and valuable of the book. It is written by the Abbé Alphonse Chapeau who has been doing research on the papers of Manning for almost twenty years. His essay is a distilled selection from what will probably be the

definitive work on Manning's Anglican life. The other essays do not reveal anything new about Manning but they do give a synopsis of the various elements of his rich life. Shane Leslie summarizes very nicely everything that can or need be said about the differences between Manning and Newman. His major contribution to the primary school system is stressed in the essay on his work in education. His practical nature is revealed in the chapters on his work for the laborer and the Irish; his spiritual side by the essay on his writings. The book is not a panegyric, for it points out his lack of vision in the university question and his lack of tact in dealing with some of the parties at the Vatican Council. As a short introduction to the life of Manning and to the history of the English Catholic Church in the latter half of the nineteenth century, this little volume may prove of interest. (JOHN EDMUND O'BRIEN)

GARDINER, HAROLD C., S.J. (Ed.). *Fifty Years of the American Novel, 1900-1950: A Christian Appraisal* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. xiv, 304. $3.00.)

Father Gardiner here brings together studies of novelists of the period headed by his own essay, "A Christian Appraisal: The Point of It." Thirteen essays concern individual writers: Wharton, Dreiser, Glasgow, Cather, Lewis, Marquand, Fitzgerald, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Hemingway, Wolfe, Steinbeck, and Farrell. Two essays consider groups of novelists: one, the novelists of World War II; the other, Robert Penn Warren and a few novelists of the last decade.

In addition to the particular evaluations, readers will be interested in the concepts of a Christian appraisal of novels. According to Father Gardiner, the Christian appraisal is based on the Christian's knowledge of the nature of man. For the novelist's "subject-matter *is* the frail majesty of humanity." The critic, then, ought "to point out how the frailty and majesty come through the work. . . ." The essays are such evaluations, though approaches, of course, vary. At times the comment is biographical, integrated in varying degrees with the novels. More commonly the focus is on characters, as they reflect a view of life or are made to reflect a view through the narrative, concentrating, for example, on Farrell's "gruesome image of civilization" or on Steinbeck's juxtaposition of human and animal conduct. Except in Hollis' essay on Lewis and McLuhan's on Dos Passos, there is little sustained technical examination of these views as part of total narrative constructs. These critics are responsive to modern literature, do not ask that it propagandize doctrine, but approach it (to use O'Malley's words) as "the literature of the Universal Church (the *ecclesia gentium*)." (ROBERT WAY)

GARTH, HELEN MEREDITH. *Saint Mary Magdalene in Mediaeval Literature.* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, LXVII, No. 3.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 114. $2.00.)

With the exception of the Blessed Mother no other saint held so high a place in the affections and esteem of the people of the Middle Ages as St. Mary

Magdalene. This, says Miss Garth, was due to Magdalene's intimate association with Christ, her constancy and loyalty to Him during His sojourn on earth, her role in the Resurrection and the special favor granted to her in being the first to see the risen Christ. Furthermore, she was held as a model for all sinners and penitents in an age that had its share of sinners and, lastly, the dramatic quality of her life as portrayed in the gospels and mediaeval literature had special appeal for the temperament and spirit of that age. To define the role of Magdalene in mediaeval literature Miss Garth has consulted an impressive array of documents: commentaries, sermons, plays, and poems. These survey the field from the writings of the early fathers of the Church through the scholars of the Carolingian and later schools to the vernacular dramas and ballads of the declining Middle Ages. From these she quotes liberally to "preserve the thought and flavor of their time."

Magdalene was confused at one time or another with practically all the other Marys mentioned in the Gospels. She was even confused with St. Mary of Egypt who lived five centuries later. However, the general mediaeval view was that Magdalene, Mary of Bethany (sister of Martha), and the "penitent woman" were one and the same person. Mary's life subsequent to the Resurrection has given rise to a number of traditions, the most popular of which was that she went to Marseilles, converted most of Provence, and was miraculously carried to heaven. Her burial place has never been clearly established; Aix, Vezelay, and Ephesus all claim her. To the man of the Middle Ages her life took on a rich and elaborate symbolism. The churches, abbeys, and convents dedicated to her name indicate her widespread hold on the mediaeval imagination.

Miss Garth's account is brief and scholarly and will be of interest only to the specialist; but she is writing for the specialist, and within that framework has done a commendable job. (JOHN J. CARRIGG)

HODGSON, LEONARD. *The Ecumenical Movement.* (Sewanee: University of the South Press. 1951. Pp. 50. 50c.)

Dr. Hodgson's three lectures present a concise summary of the origins and development of the ecumenical movement to its present organization in the World Council of Churches. Intimately united with its history is the development of its theology of unity. While Stockholm showed one cannot separate practical from doctrinal questions, Edinburgh recognized the core of Church divisions in doctrinal differences. Amsterdam expressed the conviction that "we cannot rest content with our present divisions," and acknowledged the Body of Christ to be one. Though Dr. Hodgson hopes "the Roman Church shall come to see the error of its ways," the history of the ecumenical movement would rather seem to indicate that it is the churches which broke away from Rome that are beginning to see the errors involved in schism. Rome has always insisted on the unity of the Church, and it was Pius XI who declared, "Church Unity can arise only from one teaching authority, one law of belief, and one faith of Christians. . . ." [Cf. *Documents on Christian Unity* by G. K. A. Bell (Oxford, 1930), p. 59]. (HERMES KREILKAMP)

HOPKINS, VINCENT C., S.J. *Dred Scott's Case.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 204. $4.00.)

The content of the first seven chapters of this work are aptly and explicitly revealed by the chapter titles, namely: "Origins," "Missouri Phases," "Appeal to the Nation," "Before the Highest Tribunal," "The Case Reargued," "The 'Majority' Opinion," and "Dissenting and Other Voices." The next three chapters treat the historical and judicial background of each of the major conflicting issues—citizenship of free Negroes, congressional power in the territories, and the effect of Scott's residence in "free" territory upon his status as a slave. The final chapter deals with the repercussion of the decisions in Congress, in the newspapers, and upon Douglas' doctrine of popular sovereignty. Conjecture as to why the case was instituted is confined to a two-page appendix.

Father Hopkins' book is characterized by a minimum of interpretation. Although the author disagrees with aspects of the Hodder thesis, that the majority opinion was forced on the "Democratic" judges by the ambitions and outside interests of McLean and Curtis, he fails to refute that thesis effectively. Sources re-cited and significant sentences reveal the author's sympathies. McLean and Curtis receive more favorable treatment than Buchanan and Taney. Senator Judah Benjamin's criticism of Seward for viewing the Taney decision as a southern conspiracy, prompted Father Hopkins to state, "The Louisiana Senator apparently was unaware of the correspondence of Buchanan with Catron and Grier" (p. 170). Spokesmen of Yankeedom may label this volume "objective"; revisionists will write reams of criticism.

The leading characters in the Dred Scott drama fail to come to life. Periodic sentences, with dangling clauses and misplaced parenthetical phrases, mar the work and reduce reading to a chore. The footnotes are grouped at the end of the chapters. This book is an example of a doctoral dissertation rushed into print long before it was ready for public presentation. (FRANK KLEMENT)

JENKS, WILLIAM ALEXANDER. *The Austrian Electoral Reform of 1907.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. 227. $3.25.)

In 1907 a new electoral law was adopted in Austria—not in Hungary. It gave equal, universal suffrage to all men of the legal age of majority—twenty-four years or more. Universal suffrage had already existed since 1896, but it was not equal. Before its adoption the new electoral law was much discussed by the public and in the press and it took many sessions in both houses of the Austrian parliament before the reform, proposed by the imperial government, became law.

The author describes in many details the parliamentary discussions preceding the adoption of the new law and gives an interesting survey of the problems and aspects mentioned in the parliamentary debates by the political parties. The work is, therefore, mainly based on the stenographic records of the parliament, but it mentions also a number of other sources from contemporaries taking part

in the discussions. It would have been interesting to have—besides the parliamentary debates—more details about the problems involved and the general situation of Austria-Hungary at that time. The author might then, perhaps, have insisted more strongly that for many the main reason for the new electoral law was the hope that a parliament elected by universal, equal suffrage would be better qualified than its predecessor to avoid the bitter nationalistic fights between many of the politicians. Furthermore, the great personal interest taken by Emperor Francis Joseph to have the electoral reform come into existence would then probably have been pointed out more in detail, although it is already mentioned repeatedly.

With some of the opinions of the author about the empire of the House of Habsburg (e.g., pp. 206, 210, etc.) this reviewer cannot agree. Nevertheless, for the parliamentary discussions concerning the electoral reform, the book is a valuable contribution, showing the increased interest in this country for the problems of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. (HENRY DE DEGENFELD-SCHONBURG)

LE SAINT, WILLIAM P., S.J. (Trans.). *Tertullian. Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage. To His Wife an Exhortation to Chastity. Monogamy.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 196. $3.00.)

There are many reasons for welcoming this thirteenth volume in that steadily expanding series of the Ancient Christian Writers. With his supporters claiming that he is the greatest of the Christian writers before Augustine, Tertullian commands the attention of many kinds of students. The three treatises in this work deal with substantially the same problem, that of remarriage after the death of a partner, as regarded by Tertullian at various times in his life. The study has importance because this was the issue that contributed materially to his defection from the Church.

Although Tertullian must be judged an unexpected source for such an expression, page 35 does contain one of the finest appreciations of Christian marriage to be found anywhere. His greatness as a writer presents any translator with an almost insoluble problem. Yet Father Le Saint has rendered a readable text enriched with his own enlightening notes. These notes indicate his considerable study of the period and of its problems and give this volume much of its value. As long as men have causes and propose or defend truth, such treatises as these make absorbing reading. Always prominent among controversialists must be ranked the brilliant, if erratic, Tertullian. (JOHN J. O'SULLIVAN)

LONN, ELLA. *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 725. $8.50.)

At the time of the Civil War the population of the North was much more polyglot than that of the South. The northern army, therefore, was highly

heterogeneous. Starting from this obvious fact Miss Lonn proceeds to count, classify, and characterize the foreigners. They numbered 518,161, or over one-fifth of the total. The proportion in the navy was larger. To formulate these calculations required research because official records are incomplete and racial concepts had to be clarified. Poles, for example, were often listed among Germans because there was no Poland at the time. To appraise the foreigners tangibly is difficult because their contributions cannot be isolated from those of their fellow soldiers who were natives of the United States, and as the war progressed the consolidation of military units altered their racial make-up.

The Irish and Germans dominated the scene but all racial groups receive meticulous attention. Not since the Thirty Years War had such a cosmopolitan army taken the field. Music made it more bizarre. By the summer of 1862 there were 618 bands with 15,000 men serving strictly as musicians. Besides discussing patent problems as the use of foreign languages and the lack of identical uniforms this book endeavors to answer questions such as: were the immigrants of the war era really recruits? did the Homestead Act offer bait to lure soldiers across the sea? what evidence did alien residents have to present to be exempt from military service? Catholic chaplains, the nuns of the battlefield, and a few bishops pass in review, but no new information has been added to American Catholic history.

Though the narrative is far from vibrant it has a friendly tone and occasional anecdotes relieve statistical aridity. In dealing with unsavory facts the author does not become a sensational scandalmonger. Striving to be specific introduced some minor errors into the text, but all in all the work is commendable. (BENJAMIN J. BLIED)

MONTROSS, LYNN. *Rag, Tag and Bobtail.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1951. Pp. viii, 519. $5.00.)

Copious quotations from the quaint diaries and journals of participants in the American Revolution, and from civilian contemporaries, give this narrative a piquancy that makes for delightful reading. In these pages we review the recruiting and training of the continental soldier, his dress, arms, rations, ailments, hardships, achievements, and limitations. Moreover, we have a military history of the struggle for independence. The author gives evidence of definite partiality for General Gates; he plays down the "Conway Cabal"; he stresses the fateful consequences to British interests of the policy of terror and destruction, particularly in New Jersey and in the South under Cornwallis. Of special interest are his observations on the "Convention," and the charges and countercharges of its violation; noteworthy, too, is the remark that in formulating his plans and strategy Washington was thwarted by political considerations. In commenting on Arnold's treason the author asserts that General Monck had made treason respectable. He should have added that in the opinion of the Whigs the Revolution of 1688 made it honorable and "glorious." The maps and battle diagrams are very helpful; the bibliography is excellent. (CHARLES H. METZGER)

OWENS, SISTER M. LILLIANA, S.L. *Carlos M. Pinto, S.J., Apostle of El Paso 1892-1919.* (Revista Católica, El Paso, Texas: Revista Católica. 1951. Pp. xxi, 228. Cloth $2.50; paper, $2.00.)

What first strikes the notice of an historian reading this work is that Sister Lilliana has again demonstrated great care and perseverance in exhausting all available sources evidenced by the numerous footnotes. This volume, the second in the series, Jesuit Studies—Southwest, is somewhat superior to the first, *Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico, 1867-1882.* It could as well have carried a title similar to the first, because it is more than a biography of the Jesuit builder, for the author traces in considerable detail the growth of the Church in the El Paso area, largely through the building accomplishments of Father Pinto.

The reviewer would personally have preferred to reduce much of the quoted material to a digest for incorporation even at the sacrifice of losing some of the flavor. It is to be hoped that in ensuing studies the printed lines will not be so broken up by pictures, thus making for easier reading and better pictorial presentation. The pictures lend a particular atmosphere and some of them certainly deserve a better layout. *Carlos M. Pinto* reads quite well and is very informative. (JAMES P. GIBBONS)

POPPER, KARL R. *The Open Society and Its Enemies.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 732. $7.50.)

Mr. Popper, a philosopher and logician at the London School of Economics and the University of London, first published this work in 1945 as two volumes. It is a scholarly attempt to delineate in history the roots of democracy (open society) and totalitarianism (closed society). The closed society has its origin in magic taboos, the open society in acquired use of reason. Plato is indicated as the father of totalitarianism with Hegel and Marx as his direct descendants.

One might almost be inclined to say that the book should have been entitled "The Closed Society and Its Friends," since it is mostly a polemic against the men mentioned above. Most of the book is written around these three men. Within this frame of reference it is a devastating analysis of the corrupting nature of totalitarian ideas. On the other hand, there is not enough positive analysis of the streams of historical thought which favor the open society. Certainly, the influence of religious ideas from Christ to Pope Pius XII receives inadequate treatment. This is not to say that religion or the Church is unfairly treated; not at all. If Popper does not write as favorably of religious thought as Toynbee, he does write with some sympathy and objectivity. However, he writes as a humanist, not a Christian.

More than 200 pages of notes form part of this book, amplifying, justifying, adumbrating positions taken in the text. The style is crisp and fearless. No one has any doubt about the meaning of the author, a rarity among historical

sociologists. The book itself is handsomely done but its index of names is unsupplemented by an index of subjects. (GEORGE A. KELLY)

POSTELL, WILLIAM D. *The Health of Slaves on Southern Plantations.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. xiii, 231. $3.00.)

Various aspects of health among plantation slaves have commanded the attention of investigators in the course of more embracing studies, but it remained for Postell to present the first monograph on the subject. Based primarily upon plantation records of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, the study treats food, clothing, shelter, administration of medicine, the nature of disease, therapy and prevention of disease, and hospitals for slaves. From numerous records indicating considerable concern over the health and well-being of slave property, the author concludes that economic as well as humane considerations were the primary reasons for that concern. He also concludes, contrary to southern medical opinion of the era, that slave illnesses were successfully treated with the same therapy employed for whites. Thus, having received the same medical care as the planters' families, the health of slaves "was no better or worse than that of the populace as a whole for that period" (p. 164). It is noteworthy that the author misses no occasion to portray the "finer feelings" of the southern planter; thus one is constantly aware of an interpretation based upon the insistent belief in the "benevolent paternalism" thesis of slavery.

The present study is a substantial contribution to the literature of southern slavery and plantation management. It represents sound research and, in the main, sober conclusions based upon plantation records. The bibliography is extensive and the index is adequate; numerous tables and illustrations further enhance the value of the volume. It is, indeed, regrettable, however, that such a work should have such an unappealing format. (BERNARD H. NELSON.)

RACHAL, WILLIAM M. E., (Ed.). *A Tour through Part of Virginia, in the Summer of 1808, by John Edwards Caldwell.* (Richmond: Dietz Press, Inc. 1951. Pp. xx, 58, $2.00.)

For nearly a century and a half *A Tour Through Part of Virginia, in the Summer of 1808* has been a scarce item on the rare book market. Now for the first time lovers of Virginia everywhere can read this charming account of a summer holiday by a New York businessman, John Edwards Caldwell, which has been edited with care by one of modern Virginia's most thorough scholars, William Munford Ellis Rachal. Caldwell proceeded from Baltimore by way of Frederick to Harper's Ferry, and then up the Shenandoah Valley through Martinsburg, Winchester, Harrisonburg, Staunton, and Lexington to the Natural Bridge. From there he journeyed to six different springs before returning to the valley, where he explored Weyer's Cave, now called the Grand Caverns. Crossing the Blue Ridge he visited President Jefferson at Monticello, and then

returned home by way of Washington. It is to be regretted that Mr. Rachal appended to the Virginia tour Caldwell's account of a subsequent stay in the Azores, which adds nothing to our knowledge of those islands but contains many anti-Catholic observations. In noting these, the reader may well recall that they were shaped and colored by the uneasy conscience of Caldwell, himself a fallen-away Catholic. (JAMES H. BAILEY, II)

RUTLAND, GILBERT J. *Chile, An Outline of Its Geography, Economics, and Politics.* (London and New York: Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1951. Pp. 128. $2.50.)

This little book is an outline designed to help the student and the general reader understand the modern Chilean scene. There are chapters on the land, the people, history and politics, economic and social conditions, and foreign relations. The author knows Chile from first-hand experience, having spent five years in the country. To the store of knowledge acquired through observation, he has added information from official sources and other published works (as listed in his bibliography). All this has resulted in a highly informative book on Chile. The approach is, for the most part, descriptive, and there are numerous statistical tables to illustrate the narrative, but the author can be, and at times is, critical. Mr. Rutland is especially interested in the economic life of Chile, and he is at his best when he writes upon it. Indeed, the biggest chapter by far is devoted precisely to economic and social conditions. He dwells at some length upon the mineral extractive industry, which is still the greatest single source of foreign exchange for Chile, and he also writes about the growing industrialization of the country. The Chilean Development Corporation is given the attention it deserves.

All in all this is an extremely useful and authoritative survey of Chile today which students of Latin-American history would do well to read. (MANOEL CARDOZO)

WITTE, ROBERT B. (Ed.). *Das katholische Gotteshaus. Sein Bau, seine Ausstattung, seine Pflege im Geiste der Liturgie, der Tradition und der Vorschrift der Kirche.* (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald Verlag. 2nd ed. 1951. Pp. xxxii, 508. DM 28, i.e., $7.00.)

The second edition of this comprehensive work was prepared by the editor's brother, Karl Witte, following the death of the former in 1946. The subject matter is distributed over fourteen chapters with many divisions and subdivisions. There are ten pages of the general bibliography, comprising naturally almost exclusively German works, with *Liturgical Arts* the only English item cited. The index covers thirty pages of two columns each. The work is thoroughly documented; the notes are arranged at the end of each chapter, to which is added a supplementary and specific bibliography.

The restricted size of this notice hardly allows for more than a listing of the chapters: the Fundamentals of Ecclesiastical Art, the Construction of the Building, the Appointments of the Choir, the Arrangement of the Body of the Church, the Arrangement of the Sacristy, Decoration (Painting and Sculpture), Vestments, Sacred Vessels and Accessories, the Liturgical Books, Technical Furnishings, Miscellaneous Utensils, Care of Ecclesiastical Monuments, the Cemetery and the Grave, the Architect and the Contractors.

The work claims to be a handbook. It is the German counterpart to Peter F. Anson's *Churches, Their Plan and Furnishing* (Milwaukee, 1948), with this notable difference that the German work lacks all illustrations save one plate depicting twenty-one miniature drawings which the architect might adopt in his sketch for designating the various interior furnishings.

The treatment in the German work is more meticulous, perhaps, and the various specifications more detailed. Many items treated are quite elementary, but were seemingly deemed necessary for the sake of completeness.

The price of the book is rather high, especially in view of the absence of all illustrations. (GEORGE J. UNDREINER)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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Appleby, Paul H. *Morality and Administration in Democratic Government.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1952. Pp. xvi, 261. $4.00.)

Beckett, J. C. *A Short History of Ireland.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc. 1952. Pp. 208. Text, $1.80; Trade, $2.25.) The lecturer in modern history in the Queen's University of Belfast contributes here a new volume to Hutchinson's University Library edited by Sir Maurice Powicke, late regius professor of modern history in the University of Oxford. The book has been published in recognition of the renewed interest in Irish history of late years. There is a bibliography of five pages and a ten-page index. One misses the names of famous Irish Catholic prelates of the nineteenth century like Archbishops Troy, MacHale, and Murray, and the characterization of the years 1691-1800 as "The Protestant Nation" would seem to overemphasize the religious persuasion of the governing minority at the expense of the vast majority of the governed who were, of course, Catholics.

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Blake, Nelson Manfred. *A Short History of American Life.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1952. Pp. xiv, 732. $5.75.) A new textbook by a member of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University. The volume contains fifty-four illustrations, a twenty-three page bibliography, and an index. The preface states that an attempt has been made to attain a synthesis in this single volume of the American economic, social, and cultural history developed in the thirteen volumes of the History of American Life, edited by Schlesinger and Fox. Mr. Blake's book is one in the McGraw-Hill Series in History.

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